

PUBLICATIONS OF THE PHILOLOGICAL  
SOCIETY

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A GRAMMAR OF  
MANICHEAN SOGDIAN

BY  
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*Published with the aid of a subvention from  
the University of London Publication Fund*

BASIL BLACKWELL  
OXFORD  
1961

First Printed 1954

Reprinted 1961

DEDICATED

TO

W. B. HENNING

PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN  
BY THE COMPTON PRINTING WORKS (LONDON) LTD., LONDON, N.1  
FOR BASIL BLACKWELL & MOTT LTD.  
AND BOUND BY  
THE KEMP HALL BINDERY, OXFORD

## PREFACE

THE present work was approved by the University of London for the award of the Degree of Ph.D. in 1943. It is largely based on unpublished Sogdian manuscripts formerly in the care of the Preussische Akademie der Wissenschaften in Berlin, photographs of which were kindly placed at my disposal by Professor W. B. Henning, who acted as Supervisor of my research.

The difficult reading and interpretation of these manuscripts formed part of the tuition I was fortunate enough to receive from Professor Henning; since many of the texts are likely to remain unpublished for many years to come, it will be an incentive to confidence to know that no readings of which he had not approved appear in this Grammar. Some of the discoveries, views, and suggestions which Professor Henning imparted to me have meanwhile appeared in print elsewhere, others will be found for the first time in the present book; they are all marked as his contribution by the addition of '(H.)', or 'acc. to H.'. In the compilation of a grammar based on these texts I have again been able to consult Professor Henning at every stage. Thus, while I am responsible for all statements in the Grammar that are not explicitly credited to him (or to others), I gratefully acknowledge that many of them have benefited by helpful suggestions on his part; he also read the first set of proofs. I am happy to take this opportunity of thanking him publicly for his generous assistance and friendship.

Despite the favourable circumstances in which the book was composed, today, nearly ten years after its completion, I cannot help viewing it with some misgivings. But for the Addenda and a few minor changes in the text, the work has had to be left at the 1943 stage, since the printing began soon afterwards. The sections on postpositions and adverbs have never been written, the syntax should have been treated much more fully; the important Paris texts have been used only sporadically, since M. Benveniste's edition was not available in this country at the time; even some of the texts in proper Sogdian script which Henning published after 1943, have not been utilized. Moreover, in my student days I was so fully absorbed in Sogdian, that I paid less attention than I should now, to parallels in other Iranian languages. If it were rewritten today, the book would be based on more material, and contain more references to Khotanese, Ossetic, Pašto, and modern dialects.

## PREFACE

On the other hand, however much one might improve on the book, an exhaustive treatment of Sogdian grammar is not yet possible, since a good deal of Sogdian literature still needs to be understood. There is enough justification for avoiding further delay and presenting as it stands what has here been collected, namely the grammatical facts which can be gathered from all texts, published and unpublished, that are written in Manichean script. In this script, as in the less amply documented Syriac script used by Sogdian Christians, words are reproduced almost entirely in accord with their actual pronunciation. It thus affords a clearer picture of the Sogdian language as spoken between the seventh and tenth centuries A.D., than the proper Sogdian script, in which historical orthography disguises the state of the language at that period. The texts written in the latter script are, however, more numerous than those written phonetically, and add much information. I have therefore freely quoted from published and unpublished documents written in the proper Sogdian script, yet without aiming at the same degree of completeness as in the case of texts written in Manichean script.

I am deeply obliged, and wish to express my sincere gratitude to the Philological Society for accepting this book into their Series, and bearing the greater part of the costs of printing; to the University of London Publication Fund Committee for a substantial grant towards these costs; to the staff of the University Press for the admirable setting; and to Professor H. W. Bailey for constant support and encouragement.

I. G.

CAMBRIDGE

May 1952

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<sup>1</sup> Figures refer to §§, unless otherwise stated.



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## ABBREVIATIONS<sup>1</sup>

*i, ii*, see *STi, STii*.

*Add. to Sogd.* = The Errata sheet to *Sogd.* (q.v.).

*Anc. Lett.* = Reichelt, ii 1-42. Cf. *H.*, *BSOAS* xii 601 sqq.

*B.* = thus spelled in the proper Sogdian script in Buddhist texts.

*BBB* = *H.*, *Ein manichäisches Bet- und Beichtbuch*, *APAW* 1936, No. 10.

*Benv.* = E. Benveniste.

*Chr.* = thus spelled in Christian texts in Syriac script.

*Dhy* = Reichelt, i 33-56. Cf. F. Weller, *Monumenta Serica* ii 341-404, iii 78-129.

*Dhu* = Reichelt, i 16-32.

*DN* = *Dirghanakha-Sūtra*, edited by R. Gauthiot, *MSL* xvii 359 sqq. Now re-edited in *TSP* as P5. Cf. F. Weller, *AM* (1st series) x 221 sqq.

*Doc.* = Reichelt, ii 57-61.

*E* = Ernst u. Manu Leumann, *Das nordarische (sakische) Lehrgedicht des Buddhismus*, *Abh. z. K. d. Morgenlandes*, vol. xx, Leipzig, 1933-6.

*EVP* = G. Morgenstierne, *An Etymological Vocabulary of Pashto*, Oslo, 1927.

*Frg. iia-vi* = Reichelt i 57-70.

*Ghilain* = A. Ghilain, *Essai sur la langue parthe*, Louvain, 1939.

*Giw.* = *Giurgis*, ed. O. Hansen, *APAW* 1941, No. 10. Cf. *JRAS* 1946, 179 sqq. [and Benveniste, *JA* 1943-5, 91 sqq.]

*Grammaire* = *Essai de grammaire sogdienne*, vol. i by R. Gauthiot, Paris, 1914-23; vol. ii by E. Benveniste, Paris, 1929.

*H.* = W. B. Henning.

*hl.* = headline.

*HR* ii = F. W. K. Müller, *Handschriftenreste* ii, *ABAW* 1904. Cf. below, *M* 172, *M* 178 ii.

*IIFL* = G. Morgenstierne, *Indo-Iranian Frontier Languages*, i (1929), ii (1938), Oslo.

*Intox. Sūtra* = Reichelt, ii 68-70.

*Kaw.* = *H.*, *The Book of the Giants*, *BSOAS* xi 52 sqq.

*KB* = Karabalgasun Inscription, ed. O. Hansen, *Journ. de la Soc. Finno-Ougrienne*, xlv (1930).

Lentz, v. *ST ii*.

*Mahnāmāg* = F. W. K. Müller, *Ein Doppelblatt aus einem manichäischen Hymnenbuch*, *APAW*, 1912. Cf. *Mi* below.

*Man.* = thus spelled in Manichean script.

*Man. Lett. i* and *ii* = Manichean Letters, cf. *Sogd.*, Foreword.

*Mir. Man.* = F. C. Andreas and W. Henning, *Mitteliranische Manichaica aus Chinesisch-Turkestan*, *SPAW*, i (1932, pp. 175 sqq.), ii (1933, pp. 294 sqq.), iii (1934, pp. 848 sqq.).

*Mugh* = A. Freiman, *Datirovannye sogdīlskie dokumenty s gory Mug v Tafiki-stane*, *Ac. of Sciences*, Leningrad, 1936.

<sup>1</sup> For a Sogdian bibliography v. M. J. Dresden, *Bibliographia Sogdiana Concisa*, *Ex Oriente Lux* 8 (1942), 729 sqq.

# ABBREVIATIONS

*Notes* = E. Benveniste, *Notes sogdiennes*, i (JRAS 1933, 29-68), ii (JA 1933, t. i, 193-248), iii (JA 1936, 193-239), iv (BSOAS ix 495-519). A further article with the same title JA 1951, 113 sqq.

*P* = *Codices Sogdiani. Monumenta linguarum Asiae Maioris*, vol. iii, with introduction by E. Benveniste, Copenhagen, 1940. Cf. TSP.

*Padm.* = *Padmacintāmaṇi-dhāraṇi-sūtra*, ed. F. W. K. Müller, SPAW 1926, 3 sqq.

*Par.* = A collection of broken lines, made from Man. fragments bearing the signatures Ti, Tiα, Tiα 3 γ, Tiα 17, TiD, TiD 12, TiD 16, TiD 20, TiD 51, TiD a, TiD 32.

R = Recto.

Reichelt = H. Reichelt, *Die soghdischen Handschriftenreste des Britischen Museums*, Heidelberg, i (1928), ii (1931).

*Rustam* = P 13 and 13<sup>bis</sup>; cf. *Tales*, 465 n. 2.

S. = thus spelled in the proper Sogdian script in Buddhist, Christian, Manichean, or non-religious texts.

*SCE* = R. Gauthiot, P. Pelliot, and E. Benveniste, *Le Sūtra des Causes et des Effets*, 3 vols., Paris, 1920-8. Revised translation by Benveniste, VJ, 127 sqq.

SH., v. Reichelt.

*Sogd.* = H., *Sogdica*, London, 1940. Cf. *Add. to Sogd.*

*ST i* = F. W. K. Müller, *Soghdische Texte i*, APAW 1912. For Chr. words the abbreviation *i* is used.

*ST ii* = F. W. K. Müller and W. Lentz, *Soghdische Texte ii*, SPAW 1934, 504 sqq. For Chr. words the abbreviation *ii* is used.

*Stellung Jesu* = E. Waldschmidt and W. Lentz, *Die Stellung Jesu im Manichäismus*, APAW 1926, No. 4.

*Tales* = H., *Sogdian Tales*, BSOAS xi 465 sqq.

*T.M. iii* = A. von Le Coq, *Türkische Manichaica aus Chotscho*, iii, APAW 1922, No. 2.

*TSP* = E. Benveniste, *Textes sogdiens*, Paris, 1940 (the edition of *P*; not available to me before 1945).

V = Verso.

*Vajr* = Reichelt, ii 72 sqq. Cf. F. Weller, *AO* xiv 112 sqq.

*Vim* = Reichelt, i 1-13. Cf. F. Weller, *AM* (1st series) x 314 sqq.; *Abh. f. d. K. d. Morgenlandes* xxii, 6 (1937).

*VJ* = *Vessantara Jātaka*, ed. R. Gauthiot, JA 1912. See now E. Benveniste's new edition, Paris, 1946.

Weller, v. *Dhy*, DN, *Vajr*, *Vim*.

## SIGNATURES OF MSS.<sup>1</sup>

10. 106; 10. 119; 10. 120; 10. 123 (all Tiα).

B 49 (publ. *Izv.* 1907, 534 sqq.). ( = *Sal. Man. II* )

M: 1 ( = *Mahrnāmag* ); 14 (publ. SPAW 1933, 547 sqq.); 44 (§ 512 n., v. JRAS 1945, 155); 107 i; 107 ii; 108; 110 i; 110 ii; 116 (cf. BBB p. 65); 117; 118 i (cf. *Stellung Jesu* 40); 118 ii (cf. BBB p. 68 on 544); 120; 121; 122; 123; 125; 127 (cf. *Tales* 471); 128; 129; 130 i; 130 ii; 133 (cf. BBB pp. 64. 80 on 662; *Sogd.* 3. 17); 134 i (cf. BBB p. 98 on c 43; JRAS 1944, 144 n. 3); 134 ii (cf. *Sogd.* 19 sqq.); 135 i (publ. *Tales* 466 sqq.; cf. (Ti) TM 418); 135 ii (publ. *Tales* 469 sqq.); 136; 137 (poem, cf. BBB p. 80 on 662; TPS 1945, 151); 140 (cf. BSOAS xiii 909); 141; 142; 143; 144; 147 (publ. JRAS 1945, 152 sqq.); 148 (publ. *ibid.* 148 sqq.); 169; 172 (publ. HR ii, 100 sqq.); 178 i (publ. BSOAS xii 307; cf. T ii D 139); 178 ii (publ. *ibid.* 311 sqq.; quoted as HR ii in §§ 99 (= line 85). 176 (= 85). 440<sup>2</sup> (= 89). 1676 (= 85-9, 93-7)); 197 (publ. JRAS 1945, 154); 247 (cf. BSOAS xii 309); 264 A; 280 (poem); 286 i; 286 ii; 337; 343; 356 (cf. JRAS 1942, 101); 358; 363 (publ. Kaw. 70 sqq.); 370; 372; 373; 378; 399; 410; 423; 428; 429; 430; 452 (cf. BSOAS xii 309); 483 (Letter); 485; 498 b; 498 c; 500 m i; 502 l (cf. BSOAS xii 309); 502 o; 502 p; 504; 521 a; 521 b; 530; 540 β; 548 (publ. BSOAS xii 317); 549 i; 549 ii (publ. JRAS 1944, 142 sqq.); 568; 575 ii; 579; 583 i (publ. SPAW 1933, 545 sqq.); 583 ii (publ. *ibid.*); 591; 598; 599; 600; 601; 617 i; 617 ii; 627 ii (only § 56; wrong for 672 ii); 635 i; 640; 655; 659; 662; 664; 670; 672 i; 672 ii; 674; 684; 692 (publ. Kaw. 74); 697; 712; 715 c; 716; 746 c; 750; 760; 765 c; 765 d; 765 k; 767 i; 767 ii; 769; 771; 776; 778; 794 a; 794 b; 794 c; 796 i; 796 ii (publ. JRAS 1945, 153 sqq.); 802; 810; 814 i; 815; 821 i; 834 i; 834 ii; 840 b ii; 840 c i; 840 c ii; 849; 857; 858 (Letter); 871; 880 (cf. JRAS 1946, 182 on 162); 882; 891 (Letter ?); 894 i (cf. TPS 1948, 63); 896 (cf. BBB p. 64); 900; 904 i; 904 ii; 910 ii; 915; 916 b.

<sup>2</sup> O<sup>1</sup> (publ. *Izv.* 1918, 817-42); <sup>2</sup> O<sup>2</sup> (publ. *Izv.* 1920, 399-420, 455-74).

S: 6, 40 i, 40 ii (all three publ. *Izv.* 1912, 2. 28 sqq.). ( = *Sal. Man. III* )

So. 64 (cf. T ii K); So. 338.

Ti (v. Tiα (6)); Ti (cf. Par.); Tiα (10. 106; 10. 119; 10. 120; 10. 123); Tiα (§ 1611); Tiα (cf. Par.); Tiα (2); Tiα (6) (publ. as Ti in *Tales* 474 sqq.); Tiα i.

TiD (cf. BBB p. 68 on 544); TiD 12; TiD 16; TiD 20; TiD 51; TiD a; cf. Par. on all six.

Ti TM 418 (v. TM 418).

Ti M 421.

Tii (v. Tii E); Tii B; Tii D (publ. *Tales* 485 sqq.).

Tii D: 12; 32 (cf. Par.); 52 a; 52 c i; 52 c ii; 62 (cf. BBB p. 80 on 644); 63 a; 63 b iii (TPS 1945, 138 n. 3 insert D); 63 c; 66, 1; 66, 2; 66 a (publ. JRAS 1945, 151 sqq.); 66 b (publ. *Tales* 472); 66 c; 66 d ii; 77 (1); 77 (A 1); 79, 1; 79 (2); 79, 3; 79 a; 79 b; 79 c; 79 d; 89 (2); 91; 93 c; 93 d; 93 e; 93 h; 93 m; 107; 115 (cf. BSOAS viii 585); 116; 117 (publ. *Tales* 473); 129 (Parthian);

<sup>1</sup> The signatures beginning with 10. and with So. are taken from H.'s revised classification of MSS.

<sup>2</sup> Where *Man.* should be inserted before *wrδ*.

# SIGNATURES OF MSS.

138 iii; 139 (referred to as 139, 3<sup>a</sup> in *BSOAS* xii 318; cf. *M* 178 i); 139 i; 139 ii; 140; 163 a; 163 b i; 167 ii; 167 iii; 167 iv; 167 m; 169 (§ 1123 read: *Stellung Jesu* plate iii); 207 (cf. *BBB* p. 77 on 623; *BSOAS* viii 586; *TPS* 1945, 145, 3 insert *D*); 213 (*A* 5); 267; 406 a; 413.

T ii D a (cf. *Par.*).  
T ii D ii 169; T ii D ii 169 (a) i.  
T ii K (So. 64); T ii K 178 (cf. *Stellung Jesu*, plate iv); T ii S 20 i; T ii S 23;  
T ii T (publ. *Tales* 483); T ii T (List of parts of the body); T ii T (2); T ii T 22 (cf. *Sogd.* 25); T ii T 31; T ii T m; T ii T *F* (publ. as T ii in *Kaw.* 68 sq.).  
T iii or T iii (Sch.); T iii 263 i; T iii 263 ii; T iii 282 (publ. *Kaw.* 66); T iii S 313;  
T iii S 2 i; T iii S 23; T iii S 23 (1); T iii S 23 (2) i; T iii S 23 (2) ii; T iii S 23 (3) ii.  
TM: 351 (cf. *Stellung Jesu*, plate ii); 389 a (cf. *JRAS* 1945, 155); 389 α (cf. *Journ. Gr. Ind. Soc.* xi 87); 389 c (cf. *JRAS* 1945, 155); 393 ii (cf. *Sogd.* 33 sq., also mentioned *JRAS* 1944, 137); 418 (publ. as T i TM 418 in *Tales*, 466 sqq.; cf. *M* 135 i); 422.  
X 1 i; X 1 ii.

Man. words for which no reference is given will be found in the Glossary to *BBB*; calendar names without reference have been taken from H.'s table, *Orientalia* viii 94 sq.

Sogdian words not preceded by Chr., S., or B., are Man., unless the context or the reference shows otherwise. It will be useful to remember that all signatures beginning with M<sup>1</sup>, and most of those consisting of T ii D + Arabic number, are of Man. MSS.

Transliteration is according to *BBB* 52 sq., except that in quoting Chr. words from *ST* i, θ is used for Tau (cf. § 457n.).

Brackets: [ ] = lacuna, p[c]y = the restored c fills a gap of one letter; pc'y[t] = restored ending followed by lacuna; pc'yt = restored beginning preceded by lacuna; pc'y [ = complete word followed by lacuna; pc'y[ = y immediately precedes lacuna (hence, possibly, pc'y[t, &c.); similarly ] pc'y and ]pc'y; pc(y)'y followed by reference to a single passage = y is damaged or uncertain; pc(y)'y followed by more than one, or no reference = pc'y and pcy'y are alternative spellings; (5) in Sogdian text = beginning of line 5.

<sup>1</sup> One side of M 429 contains S. text.

## PART I

## THE ALPHABET

1. The Manichean alphabet, as used by the Sogdians, consists of 29 letters, which are derived from the Aramaic alphabet. The symbols are given by H., *Mir. Man.* iii 911. The phonetic value of the letters is as follows:

' initially, glottal stop, v. §§ 2-11; in internal position, ā (§§ 13. 15. 16), a (§ 14).

' initially, glottal stop, v. §§ 18-20; otherwise with no phonetic value (§§ 21 sq.).

b = b, v. §§ 42-4.

β = v (labial fricative).

c = č (§ 69), č (§ 70), ts (§ 71), dz (§ 72).

d = d, v. §§ 45-7.

δ = δ, θ (voiced and voiceless dental fricative), v. § 58; d, § 59; l, § 60.

f = f.

g = g, v. §§ 48-50.

γ = Persian γ (voiced guttural fricative).

h = h, Persian χ, v. § 63.

h̄ = no phonetic value, v. § 64.

j = ž (§ 66), j (§§ 67 sq.).

k = k, g, v. § 51.

l = l.

m = m.

n = n.

p = p, b, v. § 51.

q = same as k.

r = consonantic lingual r (§ 61); sonantic r (§ 62).

s = s.

š = š.

t = t, d, v. § 51.

t̄ = same as t.

w = w, v. §§ 33. 35; u (o), §§ 34. 36. 40; ū (ō), §§ 39. 41; uw (ōw), § 37; au, § 131.

x = Persian χ (voiceless guttural fricative).

y = y, §§ 23. 26; i (ə), §§ 24. 25. 27; ē (i), § 29; iy, § 28; ai, § 30.

z = z.

ž = j, v. § 65.

2. (i) ' initially stands as a symbol for the opening of the glottis (for ' see §§ 18-20; on the absence of this symbol see §§ 24. 25. 34).

3. (1) Followed by consonants it expresses *a*, or a short indistinct vowel (exceptions § 5; on the same value of ' before *s* v. § 18): 'styy (*a/əsti*) 'is'; 'rtyy (*arti*) 'and, then'; 'nywn (*anyōn*) 'similar'; 'rsk (*arsk*) 'envy', v. § 164; 'stryc (*əstrič*) 'female' *M* 549 i 16, 19. *T* ii B R 16.

4. (2) Together with a following ' it stands for *ā*: 'z 'greed', 'tr 'fire', 'mynyy 'summer', &c.

5. (3) ' interchanges in some cases with '·: 'x's 'struggle' *M* 900, 8: 'x's *M* 247, 3 (*āxās*); 'myk 'mixture, impurity' *T* ii T 22, 5: 'myk- *M* 118 i R 6 (*āmīk*); 'jwn 'birth', passim: 'jwn BBB f 67; 'βrxsyy 'dissoluteness', passim: 'βrxsyy BBB 568; cf. also 'ywšt- Past stem, 'to excite' *Kaw*. K 5. 11. *Man. Lett.* ii 21: B. 'ywšt- *VJ* 1152.

6. (4) 'y- before consonants stands for the diphthong *āi*: 'ykwn 'eternally'.<sup>1</sup>

7. (5) 'w- before consonants stands for *āu*: 'wkršnyy, N. of the Column of Splendour, &c., v. § 357.

8. (6) 'y- + consonant reads *ē* (*ī*) or *i* (on the same value of 'y- v. § 19).

(a) *ē/ī*: 'ys- 'to come' *Sogd.* 29, 12. *M* 579, 16. BBB f 13; 'yδyy 'someone'.

9. (b) *i* (rare): (yδ)yw (*Išō*) 'Jesus' *Kaw*. K 18.

10. (7) Followed by *w* it reads *ō* (*ū*) or *u*.

(a) *ō/ū*: 'wh, exclamation; 'wrδ 'there'; 'wt'k 'place'; 'wxx- 'to descend'.

11. (b) *o/u* (rare): 'wx 'mind', in *cn'wxy*<sup>1</sup> 'with all one's heart', v. BBB p. 86 on 730.

12. (ii) In internal position ' usually stands for *ā* (in which case it can be doubled), sometimes for *ā*, which otherwise is not expressed in writing.

13. (1) *ā*: z'tyy 'son'; δ'm 'living world', δ'm BBB 499; &c.

<sup>51</sup> 'fryuncyq 'prayer' BBB e 26. *M* 600, 5, against 'frywn id., *M* 858, 2, 'fryn- 'to bless' *Sogd.* 17, 24, against 'fryn- *M* 264 A 23, are due to the influence of the Parth. spellings 'frywn, 'fryn-. In Chr. initial *ā*- is nearly always rendered by '·, cf. Telegdi, *JA*, t. 230 (1938), pp. 228 sq.

<sup>61</sup> The reading *ēvde* (v. § 164) does not yet apply to *Man.* 'wšw, 'perverted'. On 'y- standing for *ē*- in B. writing, v. BBB pp. 94 sq.

ix<sup>1</sup> Two words; if it were a compound the spelling should have been \*cnwzy.

14. (2) *ā*: 'm'tyy *M* 635 i 14, B. 'm't'y: 'm'tyy *M* 894 i 5, Chr. 'mty (*āmate*) 'prepared, ready'; δβ'mb'n 'lady, wife' *M* 110 ii V 10: δβ'myn *M* 127 V 9 (*δvāmban*); wβ'stgy'h 'narrative' *Sogd.* 16, 18: wβ'sty 'story, fable' *Sogd.* 19, last line; pw'rtyy 'you turn away' *Sogd.* 16, 7, pw'st 'he turned away' *M* 840 c ii 2: prwrt- 'to turn, to become' pass., prwstyy, Past Partc., *Man. Lett.* ii 6; pty'z 'autumn' *M* 140 R 12: ptyz *M* 14 R 8 (*patyaz*); wp't. 'to fall' *T* ii D 115 R hl. *T* ii T 22, 18: 'wpt- *T* ii B R 2.

15. (3) 'y- before consonants represents *-āi*: frm'yt 'he orders', ptxw'yt 'he kills'.

16. (4) 'w- before consonants represents *-āu*·, cf. qršn'wly 'beauty', § 1070, or *-au*·, cf. fšy'ws 'gentleman', §§ 311. 429.

17. (iii) In final position the quantity of ' cannot always be established with certainty.

Final diphthongs are expressed like internal ones, cf. the Imperatives frm'y, ptxw'y (*-āi*, cf. § 15), ptškw'y (*-ai*, cf. § 30), and kršn'w 'beautiful' cf. § 16.

18. (i) Initial ' is used as a symbol for the opening of the glottis before unwritten short front vowels followed by *s*, and before the letter *y*. On the use of ' in either case cf. §§ 3. 8. 9.

(1) Before *s*: 'sp'δ (*əspād*) 'army', 'spwrnw (*əspu'nu*) 'complete, perfect', 'stryc (*əstrič*) 'female' *M* 549 i passim, 'spty'k (*əspatyāk*) 'perfection' *M* 504, 1.

19. (2) Before *y*.

(a) Usually = *ē/ī*: 'yjn 'worthy', 'ys- 'to come', 'yw 'one', 'yyn'kw'c 'slanderer' *M* 118 ii R 7.

20. (b) Rarely = *i*: 'ync 'woman', cf. *Yaghn. inč*.

21. (ii) ' is sometimes used in internal position, before *y* (*ē/ī*), to fill up the line: rwxšn'yrδmn'y 'paradise' *M* 178 i R 11; p('š)'yt 'guardians' *T* ii D 66 c 20. 21; z'wrk'yn 'strong' *T* ii D 207, 5; elsewhere 'yrδmnny, p'syyt, z'wrkyn.

22. (iii) In final position ' is only used in the Aramaic spelling of the name of Jesus (cf. § 25): yyšw' *M* 767 i 6 (Oblique yšw'yy *M* 796 i 13), against yyšw *M* 172 R 4. *T* ii D 66, 2, 10 (Obl. yyšwyy *M* 172 V 1).

<sup>161</sup> The spellings c'wn *M* 118 i V 1, δ'wn *M* 117, 6, inst. of the usual cwn (*ēon*) 'from', δwn (*don*) 'with', are, acc. to H., influenced by the corresponding B. spellings. Not clear is the reason for the spelling n'wsrδyc (*nausardīē*), N. of the first month, cf. Khwārezmian ناسارچی Beruni, *Chron.* 47.

## y

23. *y* is used as a consonant and as a mater lectionis for *i* (ə), *ē* (ī), *ai*.

(i) Initial position.

(1) *y* : *ywnyδ* (*yōnēθ*) 'at once'; *yw'r* (*yawār*) 'but'; *yxwrn-* (*yḫuʿn-*) 'blood', cf. § 209.

24. (2) *i* : *ytkw-* (*itkw-*) 'bridge', cf. § 126.

25. (3) *yy-* (imitating Parth. and MPers.) in *yyšw* 'Jesus' (§ 22) may stand for *i-* (East. Syr. *išō*) or for *yē-* (West. Syr. *yēšū*).

26. (ii) Internal position.

(1) *y* : *xwcy'q* (*ḫuḥyāḳ*) 'niceness'; *''p'yym* (*āpāyam*) 'I consider'; &c.

27. (2) *y* may indicate *i*, as in *wysp-* 'all', or an indistinct short vowel approaching *i*, in which case it need not be spelled. Man. *''jytyyṭt* 'born' *Kaw.* G 17: Man. *''jty(ty)* *T ii D* 12, 6, Chr. *''jty* i 69, 8; Man. *nyszndy* 'humbleness' *T i D* : *nzndy'h* *M* 765 k 7, Chr. *nznṭy* *ii* 6, 13; B. *zyβ-* 'to bite', § 610 fn. 1: Man. *jβ-*, § 840.

28. (3) *iy* : *fry'n* (*friyān*) 'of the dear ones', v. § 1207.

29. (4) *ē/ī* : *ryt*, *ryyt* *JRAS*, 1944, 143, 19, 'face'; *mzyyn* 'armour' *M* 133, 74, *''mzyn* *T ii D* 207, 5; &c.

30. (5) *ai* : *piškwyt* 'he says'; *nxywyδδ*, 2 Pl. Impt. 'crush' *T i*.

31. (6) On *y* v. §§ 8. 9. 15; on *''y* § 6; on *''y* §§ 19. 20. 21.

32. (iii) In final position the quantity of *y* = *ē*, *ī*, cannot always be established with certainty.

## w

33. *w* is used as a consonant and as a mater lectionis for *u* (o), *ū* (ō), *au*.

(i) Initially.

(1) *w-* : *wrtn* (*wartan*) 'chariot'; *wyn-* (*wēn-*) 'to see'; *wyš-* (*wyaš-*) 'to rejoice', v. § 213.

34. (2) *u-* : *wjyp-* (*užb-*) 'terror' *M* 247, 12. *M* 794 a 8, v. §§ 377. 510; *wšywu* (*uwyu*) 'sive', v. § 101; *wjk'k* 'letter', cf. § 472; *wrmzṭ* 'Thursday', v. § 103.

35. (ii) Internally.

(1) *w* : *kwyšṭ* 'giants', § 1186; *z'wr* (*zāwar*) 'strength'; &c.

36. (2) *u* (o) : *bwtty*, *pwtyy* 'Buddha'; *xwštr-* 'camel'; *rwzšn-* 'luminous'; &c.

37. (3) *uw*, *ōw* (ʰw) : *rw'n* (*ruwān*) 'soul'; *''δw* (*əδuwa*) 'two'; *''wṭky* *M* 591, 19. *M* 664, 17 'resignation' or sim., connected by H. with

Chr. *''wrsd'r-* 'κλίω' i 52, 8, *ōwart-* from *\*awa-warta-* 'to turn downwards'.

38. (4) Occasionally the mater lectionis for *u* is left out, cf. *xṭ'w* *yšw* *T ii D* 207, 1, with *xwṭ'w* (*ḫutāw*) 'lord', passim.<sup>1</sup>

39. (5) *ū/ō* : *rwṭ-* 'river' *T ii T* 267, 10, *rwuṭ' M* 133, 77. *M* 715 c 10; *rwur* 'wild ass' *M* 127 R 14 (H.); *δwr* 'far'; &c.

(6) *au*, v. § 131.

(7) On *''w* v. §§ 10. 11. 16; on *''w-* v. § 7.

40. (iii) Final.

(1) *u* : *''nyw* 'other'; *rwzšnw*, Acc., 'luminous'; *-šw* Encl. Pron. 3 Sg.; &c.

41. (2) *ō* : *yyšw* 'Jesus', §§ 22. 25.

## b

42. *b* is used, in alternation with *p* :

(i) After *ā*, in Man. *''bwx* : *''pwx*, N. of the 10th day, cf. Chr. *''b* 'water', v. § 305.

43. (ii) After *m*. *δβ'mbn* 'lady, wife' *M* 712, 3: *δβ'mpn* *M* 127 V 9 (*švamban*); *''ymbn* 'perversion' *M* 814 i 8. *M* 664, 35; *kmbyy* 'short of, imperfect, less', B. *knpy*; &c.<sup>1</sup>

44. (iii) In loanwords. *bwtty* 'Buddha': *pwtyy* *T ii D* 62, 16, *pwuṭš'kmn* (§ 38, fn.); *b'šyk* 'hymn' (adapted to Parth. *b'š'h*): *p'šyk*; *šbyr* 'scribe' *T ii D* 79 d 7.

## d

45. *d* is used after *n*, *z*, and in loanwords, instead of, or along with, *t*. The pronunciation was, in any case, *d*.

(i) After *n* : *''ndwxs-* 'to strive' *BBB* 710: *''ndṭwxs-* *M* 684, 13; *r'mnd* 'always' *M* 135 ii 13: *r'mndt* *M* 264 A 7; *w'ndṭ*, Dem. Pron. Pl., *M* 178 ii V 17: *w'n(t)t* *Kaw.* V 16; &c.

46. (ii) After *z* : *'yzdṭ* (*īzd*)<sup>1</sup> 'place; double hour' *M* 548, 5, *'yzdṭyy*, Obl., ib. 3: *'yzṭ* *M* 178 ii V 2, Chr. *'yzṭ* ii 3, 54.

47. (iii) In loanwords: cf. Chr. *sumdr-* 'lake' i 77, 9, v. *Sogd.* 29, with Man. *sumṭr-* 'ocean', from Skt. *samudra*, see §§ 413. 512.

38<sup>1</sup> For S. cf. *synw* 'words, speech' with B. *sywnw*, v. § 222. Man. *pwuṭš'kmn* 'Buddha Śākyamuni' *T ii D* 66, 1, 4, against S. *[š'k]mwn* *pwty* *T ii D* 77 (1) R hl., cannot be regarded as belonging here, in view of the Parth. spelling *š'qmn*, Turk. *š'kymn*, cf. *Mir. Man.* iii 880, n. 2.

43<sup>1</sup> In Chr. texts *b*, corresponding to Man. B. *p*, is also found after *z*, cf. *'wžb-* 'terror' ii 3, 66. 69, Man. *wjyp-* (§ 34), B. *wzp-*, cf. § 309.

46<sup>1</sup> [Cf. now H., *BSOAS*, xii 316 sq.]

## g

48. *g* is found:

(i) Regularly after *n*,<sup>1</sup> which in this case is often doubled: *'ngyyp* 'with joined bodies', § 141; *'ngrnd-* 'to cut', B. *'nkr'nt-*; *pr'ynq*, S. *pr'yng*, a part of the face, *Sogd.* p. 6 on 7; *srδng* 'chief, leader' *M* 197 V 12, *srδng-* *Man. Lett.* ii 16; *yxumng* 'discerning' *Sogd.* 35, 8, *yxumg-* *Sogd.* 31, 7; &c. [*pr'yng*, v. Add. to § 976.]

49. (ii) In loanwords: *'δyng* 'Friday' *M* 796 ii 7. 15. *T* ii D 66 a 21.

50. (iii) Otherwise: *tmyg*<sup>1</sup> 'hellish' *M* 118 i R 17: *tmyq* *BBB*; *pr'gndyy*<sup>1</sup> 'sowing': *pr'kndyy* *BBB* p. 72; *wgyn*<sup>1</sup> 'to destroy': *wygn*-, cf. § 219; *wzrg*<sup>1</sup> 'great' *M* 821 i 1 (only occurrence of this word in *Man.*); some abstracts in *-gy*, v. § 246.

## p, t, k

51. Wherever we find *p, t, k, q*,<sup>1</sup> in a position in which the letters *b, d (d̥), g*, are used, we may assume that they were pronounced as voiced, cf. §§ 245 sq. 268 sqq. 304 sqq.

Elsewhere it is difficult to decide whether they acted as *tenues* or *mediae* (cf. *BBB* p. 57 on 495), except for *t* (*t̥*) after *β* and *γ*, where it was pronounced *d*, as shown by the very presence of *β* and *γ* (instead of *f* and *x*), by the Persian renderings *fd, γd*, cf. H., *BSOS* x 98, and by the evidence of related dialects (*Khwarezmian* and *Ossetic*).

## β : f, γ : x

52. The voiced fricatives *β* and *γ* sometimes interchange with the voiceless *f* and *x*.

(i) *β* : *f*.

(1) After *t*. *ptβs'mnly* 'reading' *M* 116 R 13: *ptfs* *M* 107 ii 3, Chr. *ptfs-* *passim*, *Man. ptyfs-*, *Impf.*, § 622. Cf. § 468.

53. (2) After *r*. *γrβ* : *γrf* 'many', *passim*, Chr. always *γrf*, B. *γrβ(y)*.

54. (3) Before *s*. *pδwβ(s)*, 3 Sg. *Impf.*, 'to stick', § 453: *pδwfsyynyy*, *Pres. Partc.*, § 890.

48<sup>1</sup> *-nk-* is quite exceptional: *βjnnk'rtlyy* [sic] *Pl.*, *M* 900, 4, against *βjnnng'ryy* *passim*.

50<sup>1</sup> Under the influence of *MPers. t'ryg* or *sim.*, *Parth. pr'gn-*, *wygyn-*, *wzrg-*.

51<sup>1</sup> No phonetic reasons determine the choice between *t* and *t̥*, and *q*. *t* and *k* are well suited for a compressed space, *t̥* and particularly *q* for filling out surplus space. Note the ornamental variation *βyqkyr'n* *M* 769, 2: *βykqyr'n* *T* ii D 207, 30 'outside'.

55. (ii) *γ* : *x*.

(1) Before *z* (?). *'wyz'mndty* 'descending' *M* 430, 2, otherwise always *Man. 'wazz-*, cf. § 342; Chr. has *'wyzl*, 3 Sg. *Pres.*, i 61, 16, but *'wzsl*, 3 Sg. *Pret.*, i 33, 20. Cf. also Chr. *'yz'mnty* 'resurrection' i 63, 12. 13, *'yz-* 'to rise' i 7, 2. ii 4, 17, *Man. 'nyz(y)nyy*, *Pres. Partc.*, v. § 894, *'nyzndtl*, 3 *Pl. Pres.*, *M* 502 o 5 (out of context), against *Man. mnaz-*, *Impf.*, v. § 632; the *Pret.* is Chr. *'xst*, 3 Sg., ii 4, 12. 19, the Causative Chr. *'xyz-* i 30, 15. 39, 1.

56. (2) Before the *t* of the Past stem we find an analogical *x* instead of *γ*, in *ptcxl-* *M* 116 R 5, against *pcyl-* *M* 627 ii 7, in *'wsuxl-*, v. § 1273, beside *'wsuyt-*, and in *ywxtyy*, *BBB* p. 68 on 544, where *x* was taken over from the *Pres.* stems *ptcxs-* 'to receive', S. *'ws'wys-* (*ōsuxs-*) 'to be purified', and S. *ywys-* 'to be taught, to learn'.<sup>1</sup> The *Pres.* stem of *Man. fšqwxl-* 'to push in', Chr. *nyšqwxr-* : *nyšqwyd'r-*, v. *BBB* p. 74 on 604, 'to pull out', is not known.

57. (3) After *r*. *Man. Chr. šyrwzy* 'friend' *M* 530, 4. *M* 849, 13. *ST* i 31, 19. 43, 18: *šyrwzyy* *M* 135 ii 63. *M* 549 i 10. *ST* ii 1, 17.<sup>1</sup>

## δ

58. (i) *δ* (very frequently, without any apparent reason, spelled *δδ*) corresponds to both Chr. (*ST* i) *d* and *θ*, viz. the voiced and voiceless fricative. Cf. *Man. δyn*, *δδyn* 'religion': Chr. *dyn* (*δēn*) and *Man. myδ*, *myδδ* 'day': Chr. *myθ* (*mēθ*).

59. (ii) In the case of *kδ'm* 'which' interchanging with *kt'm*, a dialect pronunciation *d* (voiced stop) may be assumed, cf. H., *BSOS* x 97, and v. § 268.

60. (iii) What exactly was the pronunciation of *δ* in those cases where other Iranian dialects have *l* (e.g. *δyw* 'unreliable': *NPers. lēve*, v. *BBB* p. 83; *ptγδt* *Pl.*, 'cups' *M* 771, 2: *NPers. peiyāle*, cf. Benveniste, *Notes* iii 233 sq.), is not known.<sup>1</sup>

## r

61. (i) *r* generally stands for consonantic *r*. For its articulation being lingual the following arguments are adduced by H.:

56<sup>1</sup> The same phenomenon is found in the actual pronunciation of *Yidgha*, cf. *Morgenstierne, IIFL* ii 157.

57<sup>1</sup> Cf. Chr. *θb'rywz* 'asking for gifts' i 42, 4, although in *ST* i the *Pres.* stem, when by itself, is also *rywz-* (73, 13).

60<sup>1</sup> Outside *Man.* cf. S. *δmt[yr* 'lamp' *Sogd.* p. 40 on 11, and the triplets B. *kδp* *SCE* 281 sq., *krrp-*, *krrp-*, 'kalpa', v. Hansen *apud* Reichelt, *Soghd. Handschr.* i 33, and Chr. *wdrz-* 'to tremble' i 54, 16, Chr. *wlrz-* ii 2, 1, B. *wyr'rz-* *T* ii D 107 R 2.

(1) The adaptation of the letter *r* in the proper Sogdian alphabet to express the sound *l* (*r* with subscribed hook).

(2) The occasional rendering of foreign *l* by *r* in loanwords: *ndrnyr* Sogd. 24, 12, from Skt. *indranīla*, B. *kṛp*- from Skt. *kalpa*, &c.

(3) *r* in Sogdian loanwords being rendered by *r* (not *γ*) in Persian, Uigur, &c., by *l* in Chinese.

(4) Unetymological *r* in antec consonantic postvocalic position, cf. §§ 360 sq.

(5) The fact that the sound corresponding to Sogd. *r* in other Iranian languages is a lingual *r*.

62. (ii) In some cases *r* is to be taken as a weakened sonantic *r*: *mr̥yy* (*m̥r̥y*) 'bird', *wrnw* (*w̥rnw*) 'faith', &c., cf. § 137.

## h

63. *h* is used in the Dem. Pron. *hw̥nx* M 107 i 12. M 118 i R 13, beside *xwnx* BBB f 50. M 135 ii 4. M 794 a 7, and in loanwords or Sogdian words which have an equivalent with *h* in Western Iranian: *m'hjmnw* 'Monday' T i D 51, against *m'xjmnw* BBB p. 85; *mšyh'h* 'Christ' M 659, 7, S. *mš'yγ*; *rhnd* 'arhant' M 169 R 2. M 286 ii 12. T ii D 66, 1, 4, S. *ry'nt*; *fryhrw'n* 'believer' T ii D 62, 2, against *fryrw'n* passim; *wh'k(r)* 'merchant' M 134 ii R 3, against proper Sogdian *xw'qr*, cf. § 392; *pš'h'ryy* 'after-meal', against *pš'x'ryy* BBB p. 98; *n'(h)r* M 579, 7, B. *n'γ'r* VJ 317. 1092, 'jejunus', cf. NPers. *nāhār*.

## h

64. *h* has no phonetic significance. It is used after final *-* or *-y* at the discretion of the scribe, its chief function being that of filling out surplus space, cf. H., BBB p. 80 on 670.

## ž

65. *ž* (with the value of *j*) is only used in the Parth. spelling *pnž* T ii D 66 a 7. 12 of Sogdian *pnc* 'five'.

## j

66. (i) *j* usually stands for *ž*. Examples suggested by H.: *nyjy*- (*nižai*-) 'to go out', v. § 568; *nwyj*- (*anwēž*-) 'to collect' (palatalized *z*, v. § 188); *jmn*- (*žamn*-) 'hour', cf. Parth. *jm'n* (Parth. *j* = *ž*), Arm. *žamanak*; *jwn* (*āžon*) 'birth, son', cf. Turk. *جۇڭ* (Kāshgharī, i 73); Pers. *rēž* 'desire', *žyār* 'cry', *fiž* 'filth', representing Man. *ryj*, *jγ'r*, *βyj*-, v. H., BSOS x 99, 100, 101, respectively.

67. (ii) *j* = *j*.

(1) After *n* in *njmn*: *ncmn* M 750, 3. ST i 87, 24 'assembly'; *pnjmyk* '5th' M 140 V 1. T ii T 22, 3: *pncmyk*.

68. (2) In *jkryy* 'sinful', cf. § 287.

## c

69. *c* can stand for *č*, *j*, *ts*, *dz*.

(1) That *c* can represent *č* is inferred from the interchange seen in § 67, and from the spelling *c* for older *tš*, *tc* (*wcnyy*, Chr. *pcm'r*, Man. *pcxš*-, &c., v. § 164).

70. (2) The same interchange shows that after *n*, *c* can stand for *j*.<sup>1</sup> Cf. also Pers. *linj*, rendering *-šync-* in Man. *pššync*- 'to pull' (§ 600), v. H., BSOS x 104.

71. (3) *c* represents *ts*<sup>1</sup> in Chr. *mc* 'huc', *wc* 'eo', v. § 461.

72. (4) *c* represents *dz* in *pcβwš*- 'to smell': *ptzβwš*-, Sogd. p. 47 bottom.

## Peculiarities of Manichean manuscripts

73. Manichean scribes usually avoid splitting words between the end of one line and the beginning of the following one.<sup>1</sup> Therefore they often either lengthen words so as to fill out the line, or shorten them so as to fit them into one line.

74. (i) Words can be lengthened:

(1) By extending flat letters, such as *q* and *m*.

75. (2) By prolonging the left-hand connecting stroke of *'*, *č*, *δ*, *n*, *γ*.

76. (3) By doubling *'*, *y*, *w*, when they stand for long vowels, quite exceptionally even when they are short,<sup>1</sup> cf. *βyyj*- 'bad' T ii D 117, 20, *tyy* 'and' M 834 i 3, and by doubling *t*, cf. *nftt* 'naphta', *[γ]wqt* 'sulphur', v. H., BSOS x 398, *w'xštt* 'words' BBB 544, *δδtyštt* 'animals' BBB p. 61 top, &c.<sup>2</sup>

Sometimes these letters are even tripled, cf. *tyyyh* M 769, 16, *wβttt* 'he says' JRAS, 1944, 143, 13.

77. (4) By using internal *'* (only before *y*), v. § 21.

78. (5) By using final *h*, v. § 64.

70<sup>1</sup> Chr. B. *c* is used for rendering foreign *j* in loan-words. For Man., cf. *c'smn* M 137 R 14. V 6, MPers. *\*j'smn* (cf. M 1, 151). On S. *w'c'γδ*- 'to dismount' v. § 263 fn. 1.

71<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, cf. B. *s'm* 'hairpin' SCE 169, from Chin. *tsām*, *'ym'wtsy* 'parrot' SCE 144. 315, from Chin. *tsi*.

73<sup>1</sup> When they do so, they completely disregard the syllabic formation of words: *mrδ'sp* (5) *ndty* (*maršaspa-ndi*) M 118 i R 'elements'; *ny* (15) *stt* M 118 i V 'is not' (*nī-st*); *šw* (24) *zskwn* T ii D 117 (*šawā-zskun*) 'he was going'; *š[γr]* (104) *ng'ryy* M 133 (Sogd. 17) 'pious'; *xrwmsz[t]* (5) *βryy* M 247.

76<sup>1</sup> The doubling of final *-y* (often followed by *-h*) is, however, very common, irrespective of quantity.

76<sup>2</sup> Double *t* instead of a single one is frequent also in B. writing, cf. *γwtmtt* 'parents' SCE 446, *'nytt* Pl. 'other' VJ 43<sup>b</sup>, *βyttwδrt* 'he gave' VJ 236, &c.



79. (6) Lines are filled by using punctuation dots.

80. (ii) Words are shortened:

(1) By leaving out the *matres lectionis*, not only when they stand for brief vowels, but also, occasionally, when the vowels are long: *xw'stwnf* (*χwastwānēft*) 'confession' BBB 609; *w'xšk* (*wāχšik*) 'spiritual' BBB b 23; *xwrmztβγ* BBB p. 139 (usually *xwrmztβγ-*); *'skwt* (*əskwāt*) 'should be' BBB b 50; &c.

81. (2) In this case the presence of a long vowel may be indicated by two dots under the line: *pšmṭy* (for *pš'mty*) Sogd. 21. 22; *s'ṭ* (for *'ys't*) Sogd. 21. 25; *nyš'kṭ* (for *nywš'kt*) M 110 ii V 9; *xw'sδ* 'tired' BBB 688, cf. *xw's'δ* ib. 714.

(3) In the writing of all three dialects a single consonant often stands for a double one: Man. *prwrtskwn* T ii D 63 a 4. 14, *prwṛt* M 796 i 7, 3 Sg. Pres. of *prwṛt* 'to turn', but *prwṛṭ* in M 796 i 25. M 521 b 30; B. *py't* SCE 171, Man. *py'ṭ* Sogd. 17, 24, 3 Sg. Pres. of *py't* 'to adorn'; Man. *p̣ṭpyy* 'lamp, light', B. *p̣ṭpy*, from *\*pati-tapah-*, v. BBB p. 84 bottom; Man. *mry'ṛṭ*, Pl. of *mry'ṛt* 'pearl', M 135 i passim; Man. *ynd'kryy* 'evildoer' BBB 556, Chr. *ynd'qry* ii 3, 17, Chr. *yṇṭ'q qry* i 27, 7 sq., *yṇṭ'q q̣r*, Voc., i 48, 19; Man. *nymydcyk* 'meridian', *nymyδ kyr'n* 'South', from *nīm* 'half' + *mēθ* 'day', v. BBB p. 99 on d 3; Chr. *'ym'x* 'we are', from *'ym+m'x*, v. § 778; &c.

## PART 2

## HISTORICAL PHONOLOGY

## Initial Short Vowels

a

82. (i) Summary.

(1) In front of a single consonant, or consonantic groups beginning with *s* or *š*, initial *a* (and *ha-*, v. § 397) is generally lost, except in OIr. disyllables, where its reduction is sporadic and late.

83. (2) The OIr. prefixes *apa-* and *abi-* appear as either *p-*, *β-*, or *'p-*, *'β-*. One may suppose that after the loss of the first vowel, their second vowel had sometimes been reduced, after which they became liable to take a prothetic aleph. Examples §§ 89 sq., 1163.<sup>1</sup>

84. (3) In front of groups of consonants other than those in § 82, initial *a-* is preserved as *'-*, with the exception of Chr. *'yzṭ* 'announcement' i 9, l. 29, 6, from *azdā*, beside Chr. *'zd*, B. *'zṭ*, § 284.

(4) Special cases are *'ym*, *'yš* (§ 432), and *'yjn* (§ 155).

85. (ii) Before a single consonant [treating *ny* as such].

(1) OIr. disyllables. Man. Chr. (ST ii) B. *'zw*, Chr. (ST i) *zw* 'I', from Av. *azəm*; Man. *'uw* (*awu*) and *wu* (*wu*), Acc. of the Article, from *awam*; Man. Chr. B. *'nyw* 'other', from *anyam*, exceptionally Man. Chr. *nyw* M 765 k 5. ST i 43, 10;<sup>1</sup> *Ancient Letters* 'c from *hačā*, against Man. *cn*, *cwn*, from *hačā+awana*.

86. (2) OIr. words with more than two syllables. Man. *xwrmzṭ*, from *Ahura-mazdāh-*, but S. *'xwrmzt*, v. § 395 fn. 1; *mrṭ't* (*mā'tāt*), N. of the 7th day,<sup>1</sup> from Av. *aməratāt-*; B. *p'myṭ'y*, *'tk* 'loan' SCE, ST ii, cf. Parth. *'b'myh*, NPers. *avām*, H., BSOS ix 80 (H.); Man.

83<sup>1</sup> Unexplained is the treatment of the preverb *awa-*, which in Sogdian became *ō-* (from *aw-*, cf. § 164), while in cases like *ahura-mazdāh-* (§ 86) and the preverbs *apa-*, *abi-*, the initial vowel was lost before the following syllable could be reduced. Cf. also *'wδ* 'there', from *awaθra* (§ 440), and B. *'wδ* 'there' VJ 11<sup>b</sup>. 193. 413. 832. 857. 860, against *wδy* from *awaδā* (§ 136). On Man. *'wntn* v. § 210 fn. 3.

85<sup>1</sup> In the Plural (originally *\*antā*, cf. § 494) and in compounds, where the loss of the initial *a-* is expected, it is often preserved on the analogy of the Singular. Cf. for the Plural Chr. *nyṭ* i 20, 30, B. *nyty*, Obl., VJ 199, but Man. *'nyṭ* Kaw. C 7, *'nyṭ* M 178 ii R 22, B. *'nyṭ* VJ 66<sup>b</sup>. 450, *'nytṭ* VJ 43<sup>b</sup>; in compounds, Chr. *ny'zng*, B. *ny'z'nk* and *'ny'z'nk* (v. ST ii 590 a) 'different', Man. *ny'wr* T ii D 117, 18, but B. *'ny'wr* Dhu 292, *'ny'wr* VJ 104 'autrefois' (cf. § 479), B. *ny'* and *'nyš* 'elsewhere', v. § 299.

86<sup>1</sup> To which *'rṭ't*, N. of the 6th day, has been adapted (phonetically, *harwatāt-* might have resulted in *\*rutāt*, cf. § 221).

*prw* 'after', from *aparam*, v. § 1142; words with the prefix *nw-*, § 1161, or the preverb *t(y)-*, §§ 661 sq.; &c. [v. Addenda.]

87. (iii) Before consonantic groups beginning with *s* or *š*.

(1) OIr. disyllables. Man. B. *'sty*, S. *'st*, Chr. *sty*, from *asti* 'is'; Man. B. *'sp-* 'horse', from *aspa-*; Man. B. *'stk-*, Chr. *stq-* 'bone', § 981, from *\*asta-(ka-)*; B. *'št(')* '8', from *\*aštā*.

88. (2) OIr. words with more than two syllables. Man. Chr. B. *sm'n* 'sky', but S. *'sm'n*, N. of the 27th day, from *asmānam*; Chr. *šp't* '80', from *aštāti-*.

89. (iv) The prefix *apa-* (§ 83). Cf. also § 1163. Man. Chr. *pywšt-*, Past stem: B. *'pyw'yz-* SCE 336. 349, 'to conceal', cf. OPers. *apa-gaudaya-*; B. *py'rš-*: *py'rš-*, *py'nš-*: *py'nš-*, v. § 343; Chr. B. *pstn-* (*pstan-*, light stem, cf. §§ 174 sqq.) ST ii 2, 14. VJ 561 (v. JRAS, 1942, 99). 593. 614: *'pstn-* VJ 671, 'respite, delay' (v. Lentz, ST ii s.v.), from *\*apa-stana-*; Chr. *pšt-* 'to deny, disclaim': Man. *'pšt'w-*, Caus., v. BBB p. 101 on e 20; Man. *pswc-* 'to clear, purify': B. *'pswc-* Frg. iii 68,<sup>1</sup> B. *pswys-*: *'pswys-*, Intr., 'to clear up', v. BBB p. 105 on f 87; Man. *p'tr-*: B. *'p'tr-* 'to pull out (hair)' v. H., JRAS, 1944, 143, adn. 4.

90. (v) The prefix *abi-* (§ 83). Man. *βj'w-* 'to increase', v. § 571, B. *βz'w-*: B. *'βz'w-*; Man. *βtryt-*: B. *'βtryt-*, Past stem, 'to oppress', v. § 152 b; *'βnw-* 'to tremble', v. § 576; B. *βy'yš-*: *'βy'yš-* 'to boil', v. § 1068; Man. B. *βyr-*, Chr. *byr-* (*vir-*),<sup>1</sup> Pres. stem, 'to obtain', Man. B. *βyrt-*, Chr. *byrt-* (*virt-*), Past stem, older form B. *βy'rt-* (*wyārt-*):<sup>1</sup> S. *'βy'rt-* (passages quoted ST ii 580 a bottom), from *abi-* + root *ar-*, Av. *²ar-* 'to (be) award(ed)'; B. *βyδ'n* 'bridle' VJ 1419, *βδ'n*h Dhu 166, from Av. *aiwi.δāna-*, v. Benveniste, Notes ii 241; on *βywn-* 'to foresee' v. § 434.

91. (vi) Before other groups of consonants (§ 84). *'rt'w* 'electus', from *artāwan-*; *'rsk* 'envy', v. § 164; *'nywn* 'similar', from *\*ham-gaona-*, against *mywn* 'all', from *hama-gaona-*; *'nd(ry)kt*, Pl., 'eunuchs', from *antar*, v. § 995; *'ngwšt* 'finger', from *angušta-*; Man. *'βt't* '70', from *\*haftāti-*; Chr. *'zd* 'announcement', v. § 284.

## i

92. The treatment of initial *i-* (*hi-*, § 397) is similar to that of (*h*)*a-*, cf. §§ 82 sqq.

(i) Lost before a single consonant, but appearing as *'*- (representing an indistinct short vowel) in B. historical spellings: Derivatives from the Dem. Pron. *ima-*, v. §§ 1401, 1466 sqq.

89<sup>1</sup> *'ps'wcn*, 1 Sg. Subj.

90<sup>1</sup> Cf. Yaghn. *wir-/wiārt-*, Geiger, Gdr. Ir. Phil. i<sup>2</sup> 340.

93. (ii) Lost before *šk*, *šm*, and *zβ*, or replaced by a prothetic aleph: Man. *škw-*, *šwk-* 'dry': S. *'škw-* Sogd. 64, 13, from *hišku-*, v. BBB p. 53 on 486; *šm'r-* 'to think', (*'*)*šm'r-* 'thought' from Av. *hišmar-* (H.); Man. *zβ'k* 'tongue' T ii B R 11, B. *zβ'k* SCE 128: B. *zβ'k* DN 32, *zβ'k* VJ 880, from Av. *hizvā-*.

94. (iii) Preserved as *i-*: B. *'yntk'w* 'Indian', from *\*hinduka-* (Bailey, BSOS viii 894 n. 2. ix 542), v. § 423; *'ync* 'woman'.

## u

95. Initial *u-* (*hu-*, § 397) is lost, or preserved under the spellings *'*- (*o-*), *w-*, *'w-* (*u-*), in conditions similar to those obtaining for *a-* and *i-*.

96. (i) Lost. *twty*, conjunction and adverb, 'that, then',<sup>1</sup> from *uta+uti*, cf. § 135; *pr*, preposition, 'in, on', from *upari*; *pδwβs-* 'to stick', from a root *\*dub+upa*, v. § 453; S. *šδ'kw* 'neck' VJ 769, *šδ'y* SCE 164, *šδyh* Anc. Lett. vi 4 (?), from Av. *ušadā-*, v. Morgenstierne, IIFL ii 251 b. [v. Add. p. 307.]

97. (ii) Appears as *'*-. Man. S. *'ty*, Chr. S. *'t* 'and', from *uta* (v. BBB p. 88 on 758), cf. § 118; Man. B. *'ztyw* 'exiled', from *uzdahyu-*, v. Tedesco, BSL xxv 151; B. *'str' myδ* 'next day' or 'later in the day, afternoon' VJ 349, from *\*ustara-*, cf. Skt. *uttara*, Greek *ὑστερος*.

98. (iii) Appears as *w-*, *'w-*. B. *wp'p yntw* P 3, 131, from Av. *upāpō gandarawō* (H.); B. *'wš'y kyr'n* 'East' Dhy 113, from *ušah-*.

99. (iv) Nought alternating with *'*- (rarely, *'*-).

(1) Chr. *sq'*: Man. B. *'sk'* 'high, loud', adj. and adv., Man. *skycyk* adj.: *'skycyk*, v. § 1017, Man. *skys'r* 'up, upwards' T ii D 79 c 6: *'skys'r* HR ii 97, 2, Man. *sk'tryk*: *'sk'tryq*, v. § 1287, Man. *sk'wyh*, abstract, 'top, surface', v. § 1082, from Av. *usk-*, v. §§ 1215 sq.; Man. *pstq'ryy* M 125 R 2: B. *'pstk'r'k* 'assistant' Vim 75, from OPers. *upastā-*; Man. *spurn-* M 133, 68, S. *spurn-* T ii D ii 169 R 17. V 9, Chr. *spun-* i 84, 14: Man. *'spurn-*, B. *'spurn-* SCE 'full, complete', < *\*us-prna-*, cf. MPers. *'spur*, Pahl. *uspur*, Khot. *uspurra*; Man. *pz't* M 672 ii 14, 'home, place of origin', *pz'tyk*, adj., T i D 12 (Par. 44): Man. *'pz'tyy*, Obl., M 286 i 16, S. *'pz'th* X 1 ii R 7. T ii D 77 (A I) 31, *'pz't* Stell. Jesu, plate iv, T ii K 178, 1 (H.), *'pz'tyt*, Pl., T ii D 89 (2) 1, *ckn'c* *'pz'tyš* 'where do you come from?' T ii D ii 169 (a) i R 12, 17, from *√zan-+upa* (H.); Man. *zur't-* Pres. stem,

96<sup>1</sup> *frm'y twtyšyy xšyβt' δβr't* 'give order that she should give him milk' BBB e 17 sq.; *w'nw q'mnd twšy* 'thus they wish' T ii D 139 i 11; *w'nw 'tyy* [... *'s*] *kwnd twtyy* 'they are so ... that' M 674, 12 sq.; *w'nw twtyšyh* 'so that his' M 125 R 4; *twtyšy* 'and its' M 664, 36; Chr. *twty* 'then' ii 5, 31. Dr. Henning has abandoned his assumption that this word should have been borrowed from MPers. *dudy* (ST ii 604).

'to (re)turn' *M* 674, 25, Chr. *zwrt-* i 36, 7: Man. *'zwrt-* *M* 117, 5, B. *'zwrt-* *VJ* 9<sup>b</sup>, from *uz-warta-*; Man. *rwrt-*, B. *rwrt-* 'medicine': B. *'rwrt-*, from Av. *urvarā-*, v. *BBB* p. 62 on 517.

100. (2) Like *rwrt-*: *'rwrt-* are treated Man. B. *rw'n* 'soul': Chr. B. *'rw'n* ii 2, 23. *VJ* 476. 537, from Av. *urvan-*, and S. *rw'rt-*: *'rw'rt-* 'fine, delicate', connected by H., *Additions to Sogd.*, with Av. *urvāθra-*. On Chr. *'rwzš* v. § 158.

101. (v) Nought alternating with *w-*. Chr. *byw* (*vyu*) 'sive' ii 5, 21. 22: Man. B. *wβyw* (*wvyu*), < *ubayam*, Benv., *Gramm.* 173. [v. Add.]

102. (vi) Nought alternating with *'-* and *w-*. Man. Chr. *šy* 'remembrance': Man. *'šy* *Sogd.* 21, 4. *M* 540 β 6, B. *'šyh*: Man. *wšy* *T* ii B R 6, from *uši-* (H.), v. § 948.

103. (vii) Loanwords.

(1) B. *wšn'yš* '*ušnāsa*' *Dhy* 38; B. *wp'sy* 'lay-man' *ST* ii 8, 6, *'wp'sk* *DN* 4, from Skt. *upāsaka*; B. *wpšy* 'lotus' *Dhy* 87, &c., from Prakrit *uppala*; B. *'wtrkwr*, from Skt. *uttarakuru*, *Dhy* 117 (cf. *ST* ii 551); Man. *wrmzł* 'Thursday', from West. Iranian *urmazd*, from *ōhrmazd*, cf. *BBB* p. 86.

104. (2) S. *yzt'ys* 'idol' *T* *M* 389 a V 26, *'yztyskt'k* 'idol-house, temple' *T* *M* 389 c 23, was probably borrowed not from MPers. *'wzdys*, but from a corresponding Parth. form *\*'zdys* (H.).

### Short Vowels in Internal Position

#### a

105. (i) Remains, either not expressed in writing, or, less frequently, indicated by *'-*, cf. § 14. *sng* 'stone' (*sang*); *frm'y-* 'to order' (*framāy-*); *z'wr* 'strength' (*zāwar*); &c.

106. (ii) Becomes an indistinct vowel approaching *i*, which is either spelled *y*, or not indicated at all. Cf. *i* from *a* in Ossetic and Persian (Miller, *Gdr. Ir. Phil.* i Anh. 18; Horn, ib. i<sup>2</sup> 24).

107. (1) Before *n*. Man. *prywynd* 'in this': Chr. *prywnł*, v. § 1460; *βynd* 'interdiction' *BBB* f 28: *βnd* 'prison' *M* 655, 18. *M* 814 i 12, *βndyh* 'slave' *BBB* b 87.

108. (2) After *j*. *jyt-*, Past stem, 'to strike' *M* 135 i 33: *jt-* ib. 30 (a parallel text in Sogdian writing, *T* *M* 418, has in both passages *zyt-*),<sup>1</sup> from Av. *jata-*.

109. (3) Before *š*. S. *nyšt-*, Past stem, 'to destroy': Man. *nšt-*, B. *nšt-*, cf. *BBB* p. 81; B. *'rd'yšp* and *'rd'šp* 'banner', from *drafša-*,

<sup>108</sup> Cf. also *Anc. Lett.* ii 40 *ptxwst zyt* 'he was killed' (cf. Germ. *totgeschlagen*)?

v. § 439; Man. *šyšcy* and *ššcy*, N. of the 15th day, from Av. *daθušō*, v. § 443.

110. (4) Before *s*. *βyst-*: *βst-*, Past stem, 'to bind', cf. *BBB* p. 53 on 485.

111. (5) Before *r*. *kyr'n* 'side, direction', *nykyr'n* 'outside, except': B. *nykr'n*, from Av. *karan-*, v. § 1148; B. *cyrδp'δw* and *c'rδ'p'δw* 'quadruped', v. § 440.

112. (6) With some words it is not known whether the original vowel was *a* or *i*. *jβ-* 'to bite': B. *zyβ-*, cf. § 610 fn. 1; *'spnc-* 'rest-house, inn' *M* 178 i V 4: *'spync-* *T* ii D 139, 5, cf. Hübschmann, *Arm. Gramm.* i<sup>1</sup> 109; *spnyy* 'dirt': *'spyn-* 'sinful', v. *BBB* p. 102 on f 8.

(iii) Different from the cases enumerated in the preceding sections, are those where an old *a* has been palatalized by *y*, v. § 201.

113. (iv) In the neighbourhood of *γ*, *χ*, *b*, and *n*, we sometimes find *u* in the place of an expected *a*.<sup>1</sup> Cf. § 120 on *ō* from *ā*. B. *wytwyt-*, Past stem of *\*wytc-* 'to flow', B. *wyc'wytk* 'wise': *wyc'γtk*, cf. *BBB* p. 62 on 516; B. *mwγšk-* 'fly', v. § 975, from *\*maxšika-*; B. *γnp'un(h)* *Vim* 43. 72, translating (together with *rym*) Skt. *kleśa* (Weller): Man. *ymbn* 'effort', cf. Lentz, *ST* ii 583 b, and H., *BBB* p. 105 on f 79; cf. also B. *šwnk* 'mussel' *Dhy* 52. 180, borrowed from Skt. *śaṅkha* (H.).

(v) For other changes v. § 202 on (*i*)*ya*, § 204 on *a(h)**ya*, §§ 221 sq. on *wa*.

(vi) On the frequent loss of *a* through syncope v. §§ 164 sqq. 168 sqq.

(vii) *a* is irregularly lengthened in *wštm'x* 'paradise', from Av. *vahištam ahūm*, cf. MPers. *whyšt'w*.

#### i

114. (i) Preserved as an indistinct vowel, which is either not written or spelled *y*, *'*.

(1) *šyšt'yy* 'built' *M* 776, 10: B. *ššt'y* *VJ* 44<sup>b</sup>, from Av. *-dišta-*; *nywš'k* (thus always) 'auditor'; cf. the preverb *ni-*, §§ 676 sqq.

115. (2) *i* is always spelled *y* in *wysp-* 'all', *myšyy* from *Miθra-*, and in some words with the prefix *wi-*, v. § 216.

116. (3) OIr. *i* appears as *'* in B. *'rw'štk* 'fixed', *ST* ii, from Av. *urvišta-*, v. § 158, and cf. B. *'* from *u* in *'ws'γtp'zn* (§ 119).

117. (ii) Is lost, cf. *wšnyh* § 163, *βyn-* § 165, B. *'ptyw'r* § 170, *'ptr-* § 178, &c. Disappears after palatalizing a following *k*, v. § 247.

(iii) On (*i*)*ya* v. § 202; on (*i*)*yā* v. § 205; on *iy* v. §§ 493 sq.

<sup>113</sup> On a similar development in Yidgha v. Morgenstierne, *IIFL* ii 90.

## u

118. (i) Preserved: *p'rwty* 'nam', *kδwty* 'as if', B. *k'rwšy* 'or' P 2, 984, from *p'r*, *kδ(?)*, *k'r*, + OIr. *uta* 'and', cf. §§ 96 sq.; *ptmwyt-*, Past stem, 'to dress', and other Past stems.

119. (ii) Becomes an indistinct vowel which is expressed by *y*, in B. also by ' (cf. B. ' from *i*, § 116), or left unwritten. *δštwc*: *δyštwc* (*δaštāuc*) 'poverty', cf. § 1080; *oškyy* 'son', S. *oδr*: B. *opyδr* 'k', from *puδra*, cf. BBB p. 73; *fr'wycyh* 'forgetfulness', from *\*frāmušti-*, v. § 382; *ptmync-* 'to dress' (§ 600, b), B. *βr'mcn-* (§ 327), from *\*munč-*, cf. Av. *paiti.šmuzta-*, *framuxti-*; B. *wydyšth* (*wədišt*) 'wives', Pl. from *wuδ-*, v. § 506; B. *'wsytp'zn* 'pure heart' SCE 6. 62: *'wsytp'zn* VJ 82. 100, &c., Man. *'wsywt-*; B. *'r'ys-* 'to wish': Man. *\*'rwxs* 'desire', v. § 539 [but cf. Benveniste, TSP 202 sq.].

(iii) Is lost through syncope, cf. *ps'k* § 171, B. *βš'h* § 169.

### Old Iranian Long Vowels and Diphthongs (Initial and Internal)

120. (i) Turn up, normally, as long vowels: *'p* 'water': *m't* 'mother'; *δwr* 'far'; *rw* 'river'; *δyn* 'religion'; *kyn* 'vengeance, hatred'; Chr. *nwr* 'now'; *fr'yš-* 'to send', from *fra* + *iš-*; *ys-* 'to come', from *ā* + *iš-*, cf. § 539; *yw* 'one'; &c.

(ii) An isolated case of *ā* becoming *ō* after *v*, is that of Chr. *bwžbrt*, Pl., 'publicans' i 19, 12, from OPers. *bāji-*. Cf. § 113. [See Add.]

121. (iii) *ā* is shortened.

(1) *'m(?)tyy* (*āmate*, cf. § 14) 'ready', against NPers. *āmāde*, cf. Reichelt, ZII vii 143; *'ztyy* 'free' M 672 ii 13, against NPers. *āzād*; Man. *rwps* T i D, S. *rwps* P 13, 18, *rwpsyh*, Obl., SCE 149, against Parth. *rwb's*, Khot. *rruvāsa*, Skt. *lopāśa*; *pšn* 'heel', Acc., M 142 R 8, against Av. *pāšna-*, NPers. *pāšne*; (*rwzšn'yr*) *δmn* 'paradise', against *δm'(?n)* 'dwelling place', *δβ'mbn* 'lady', v. § 466 fn. 1 possibly Chr. *p'crt* (Oblique) 'reward', beside Man. *p'crt*, from *patirāta-*, v. § 674 fn.; the ending *-ān*, from *-āni*, of the 1 Sg. Subj., v. § 685; a shortening has to be assumed also for *ptxwng* 'murder', *yxwng* 'discerning', v. § 976, = *-xwang* or *-xung* from *\*-xwānaka-* from *\*-xwahanaka-* (H.).

122. (2) As pointed out by H., the verbal nouns *-dāna-* and *-stāna-* have their long vowel regularly shortened in Sogdian. This tendency can be traced also in the Avesta (cf. *gaodana-*). For *-dāna-* cf. B. *z'kδn'k*, § 1117, Man. B. *pr'(?δn* 'selling, sale' BBB. VJ 1229. 1273.

1282. 1304, from *\*parādāna-*<sup>1</sup> and S. *pyrδn-* 'saddle' < *\*pari-dāna-*, v. H., JRAS, 1944, p. 140 adn. 1; for *-stāna-* cf. the suffix *-stan(e)*, § 1118; Chr. *byyst'n* 'monastery', B. *βyyst'n*, *β'yyst'n* (T M 422, 8) 'paradise', has its *ā* preserved under the influence of other Iranian languages.

Also the Past Participles *-dāta-*, *-stāta-*, have been reduced in B. *pr'(?δt-* (v. fn.), and B. *'wstt* (§ 555) from *awa-stāta-*; but *-stāta-* is preserved in B. *'wst't-* (§ 554), B. *nyšt't-* (§ 561), Man. *ptst't* 'opposition' (§ 552 fn. 1).

123. (3) The shortening of *ā* before *ya* or *wā*, is another feature common to Sogdian and Avestan.<sup>1</sup> The examples adduced by H. are:

124. (a) Before *ya*. *'jy-* 'to be born' (v. § 182), Av. *zaya-*, against NPers. *zāyad*, Skt. *jāyate*; *sy'k* M 485, 9, Chr. *sy'q* 'shadow', B. *sy'kh* 'shadow, canopy', from *\*sayāka-*, cf. Av. *asaya-*, against NPers. *sāye*, Skt. *chāyā*; Man. B. *my'kyk* 'happy' T ii D 66 c 3. P 6, 5, cf. Av. *mayā-* and *māyā-*; Man. *'wsty-* 'to put', v. § 552, Av. *staya-* and *stāya-*.

However, not every Avestan reduction of this kind has a corresponding Sogdian one, cf. *sn'y-* 'to wash', against Av. *snaya-*.

125. (b) Before *wā*. S. *nw'z* 'sailor' T ii D 77 (A I) 28, Man. *n'wzyy* M 137 R 6 (misspelling?), Av. *navāza-*, against Parth. *nāwāz*, Skt. *nāvāja*.

126. (iv) *ai* has become *i* in the light stem *ylkw-* 'bridge', from Av. *haētu-*, cf. § 518, against Yaghn. *ūtk*. For the partial or complete reduction of a secondary *ai* v. § 210 fn. 2. On *\*abi-waina-* v. § 434.

127. (v) *au* has become *ō* before *χ*, in the light stem *rwzšn-* 'luminous', from Av. *raoxšna-*, and in Chr. *txmy*, *twxmy*, B. *tymy* (*tōχme*), 'seed, offspring, family', from Av. *taoxman-* (cf. B. *γwt'?)m*, § 444), also contained in Man. *mrtxmyy* (*martōχme*) 'man'.

128. (vi) *-au-* becoming *-wa-*? Only in isolated spellings, which may be misspellings or cases of wilful metathesis (of the *wc'γwt'k* type, cf. H., BSOS ix 548). However, in view of the analogous development in Pašto (Geiger, Gdr. Ir. Phil. i<sup>2</sup> 208 top), the change may be genuine. Cf. S. *tw'z* T M 418 V 8, corresponding to Man. *twj* M 135 i 54 (being another copy of the same text), 3 Sg. Impf.

122<sup>1</sup> The forms attested for 'to sell', are analysed by H. as follows: Pres. stem B. *pr'yδ-* VJ 1247. SCE 413. P 2, 775, from *\*parādāya-* becoming *parādāya-* (acc. to § 124) and then *parēδ-*; Past stem B. *pr'(?δt-* VJ 1230. 1252, from *\*parādāta-* becoming *\*parādāta-*, and then *\*parāδt-*, *parāδt-*; analogical Past stem Chr. *parēδt-*, i 9, 7, where H. restores *p[r]yθ[θ] bnt* 'are sold'.

123<sup>1</sup> This was illustrated by H. during a lecture held at a meeting of the Philological Society in February 1943. [v. Trans. Phil. Soc. 1942, 50].

of Chr. *tuž-* 'to pay', cf. Pahl. *tōž-*; B. *ptrwz-* 'to intercept', against the Past stem B. *ptrwyšt-* cf. JRAS, 1942, 99.

129. (vii) Under unexplained conditions *āi* loses its second element. The examples are B. *pr''šy* 3 Sg. Impf., 'he sent' VJ 1405. 1417, which, acc. to H., belongs to Man. *fryš-*, v. § 198 (*frāšai*, from \**frāišai*, from *fra*+*a*+*aišaya-*); *ās-* 'to take', from *ā-yasa-*, against the Past stem *ēt-* from *ā-yata-*, v. § 539. Cf. also the peculiar *xw-* from \**xwāy-*, v. § 233.

130. (viii) *āu* is reduced to *ā* in *'xšn'm* 'forgiveness, absolution', v. BBB p. 102 on f 11, from \**xšnāuman-* (H.), cf. Sogd. p. 33 on 12b.

131. (ix) In late texts there is a tendency to reduce *āu* to *au*, and *ē* (from *ai*) to *ē*.

(1) *āu* became *au* in Chr. (ST ii) *xwdw* 'lord', against Man. Chr. (ST i) *xwt'w*, and in the suffix Man. *-wc*: *-wc*, v. § 1080.

132. (2) *ē* became *ē*. Chr. (ST ii) *xšwny* 'king', *xšwnc* 'queen', *xšwnqy* 'kingship' (*xšēwan-*), against Man. Chr. *xšywn-* (*xšēwan-*), cf. § 1086; Chr. *prw*, B. *prw* P 2, 1137 and *pr'w* P 2, 1191. P 3, 53. 184. 187. 188. 189. 190 (*parēw*), postposition, against Man. *pryw*, B. *pr'yw* (*parēw*), 'together with', lit., acc. to H., 'in one', from *par*+*ēw*.<sup>1</sup>

133. (x) On *au* palatalized by *y* v. § 187. Here may be mentioned a case of palatalization of *-āu-* by a final *-i*: B. *γwt(?)ynh* (*χutēn*)<sup>1</sup> 'queen', from \**χwatāunī-*, Fem. of \**χwatāwan-*, cf. Av. *ašaoni-*.  
(xi) On the palatalization of *ā* v. § 201; on *-(i)yā-* v. § 205.

### Old Iranian Vowels in Final Position

134. Preserved only with light stems, cf. §§ 484 sqq.

(i) *-a*.

(1) Remains *-a*, e.g. in the endings of the Vocative (§§ 1176, 1203) and the 2 Sg. Imp. (§ 697).

135. (2) *'ty* 'and' from *uta*, cf. § 97, owes its *-y* to the conjunction *'ty* 'that' (used mainly after *w'nw*, cf. §§ 1604 sq.) from *uti* (Av. *uiti*, cf. also *tuṭy*, § 96). The correct outcome of *uta* would seem to be Man.<sup>1</sup> Chr. B. *'t* (cf. §§ 500 sq.), which is only used for 'and', and as an expletive particle to which enclitic pronouns are attached, not for 'that'. Cf. also the literary *tuwt*, against the contaminated form B. *tuṭy*, § 1349.

<sup>132</sup> [v. Addenda].

<sup>133</sup> Cf. خدنه (wrong for خدنه (H.)), Barthold, *Turkestan*, p. 188.

<sup>135</sup> M 137 R 4. V 11. 14. M 765 k 7. With enclitics: *'ty* M 655, 26. M 127 V 13. M 137 V 1; *'tyy*, v. BBB s.v. *-f-*; *'tšy* M 14 V 3; *'tš* M 810, 3; *'tš* M 280 R 8. 15; *'tšw* ib. V 12; *'tš* T ii D 66, 1, 25.

136. (3) The reason of the final *-y* in Man. *wšyy* 'there' M 120, 9, M 127 R 9, &c., B. *wšy* VJ 1400, Chr. *wdy*, from *awadā* (against B. *'wδ*, § 83 fn.), and of Man. *mšyy* 'here' Man. Lett. ii 16, B. *mšy* VJ 307, 324, 796, Chr. *mdy* i 14. 23, from \**imadā*, is not known.

(ii) *-i*. Remains *-i*, cf. the ending *-ty* of the 3 Sg. Pres., § 704; on the treatment of *ahmi* and *ahi* v. § 432.

(iii) *-ā*. Appears as *-*, cf. the endings of the Nom. Sg. Fem. §§ 1170, 1193, and the Nom. Pl. §§ 1185, 1205.

(iv) *-i* possibly appears under the spelling *-y* of the Nom. Chr. *ywxny* 'blood', v. § 1168 fn. On its palatalizing effect v. § 133.

(v) *-ū* appears under the spelling *-w* of the Nom. Man. *wδw* 'wife', v. § 506.

### Old Iranian *r*

137. OIr. *r* before *-nt*, *-nk*, *-nč*, *-ft*, *-fs*, *-xt*, *-xs*, becomes *r* followed by a short vowel.

Otherwise it is generally reduced to a super-short vowel (a *Šwā compositum*) followed by a weak *r* which is liable to disappear.

In the latter case alternative spellings, with and without *r* (cf. §§ 145-8), show that *r* may not have been pronounced at all in many cases where it is regularly spelled. Hence the intrusive *r* mentioned in §§ 359 sqq. The weak pronunciation of *r* from *r*, is also shown by its not making position, v. § 485.

The short vowel before *r*, can be either *ə* (usually not expressed, rarely spelled *'*), or *i* (spelled *y*, v. §§ 140 sq.), or *u* (spelled *w*). What determines the choice of the vowel, is not clear, except that Dr. Henning has noticed that where OIr. *r* appears in Avestan as *-ahr-*, Sogdian has *-r-* (§ 139), where it appears in Avestan as *-ahr-*, Sogdian has *-yr-* (§ 141).

The vowel *ə* remaining after the disappearance of *r*, is either spelled *y* (§§ 146 sq.), or not expressed. It is liable to be reduced, like any brief vowel.

Initial <i>r</i>	<i>'r-</i> , § 154.
	<i>'š-</i> , before <i>-š-</i> , § 155.
Internal <i>r</i>	<i>-(')r-</i> , §§ 138 sq.
	<i>-r(')-</i> , §§ 152-152c.
	<i>-yr-</i> , §§ 140 sq.
	<i>-ry-</i> , §§ 153 sq.
	<i>-w(r)-</i> , § 151.
	<i>-rw-</i> , § 153b.
	<i>-ə-</i> or nought, §§ 144-50.

138. (i) *r* appears as *-r-*, rarely *-r-* (on initial *-r-* v. § 154).

(1) B. *pr̥s-* VJ 480. 541. 601. 897, *pr̥s-* VJ 54<sup>c</sup>. 36<sup>d</sup>. 658. 709, *ap̥s-*, 'to take leave', cf. Skt. *āp̥cch-*; Man. *wpr̥s*, B. (*pr̥s*) 'question', cf. § 214, from *\*wip̥sa-* (on *ps-* 'to ask' v. § 145); *βr̥zyy*, B. *βr̥z'k*, (*v̥r̥ze*) 'long', cf. § 967, from *\*βr̥zaka-*; *γr̥β-* 'to know', from *gr̥b-*; Man. Chr. S. *γr̥rt-*, B. *γr̥rt-*, (*γr̥rt-*) 'wide', from *\*wi-gr̥ta-*, cf. §§ 220. 490. 518; *δr̥jyy* (*δr̥'ži*) 'heart', Acc., *M* 591, 17, B. *δr̥zy*, Gen., *SCE* 99, from *\*d̥r̥zaya-*, cf. § 182, v. also Chr. *žy'wr*, § 148; *mry-* 'bird', cf. §§ 149. 485; *mryw̥ndyy* 'lump, clod' *Sogd.* 56, 29, with old *r*, judging by § 149; *mrt't*, N. of the 7th day, from Av. *amərātāt-*, S. *mrt-* Past stem 'to die' *Anc. Lett.* ii 3<sup>f</sup> (v. H., *ZDMG.* 90, 198), *δ*/S. *'mrtch* Fem. adj. 'immortal' (H.), *Anc. Lett.* iii 4, from *-m̥r̥ta-*, otherwise appearing as *murt-* (§ 151);<sup>1</sup> Man. Chr. *pr̥cy*, B. *pr̥ch* 'back', from *pr̥šti-*, v. § 275; *pr̥s*, Acc., *'side, hour*, *M* 178 ii V 2. 4, cf. Av. *p̥rasu-* (H.); *sp̥(r̥zyh)* 'splenic' *Sogd.* 31, 1, from Av. *sp̥ərəza-*.

139. (2) Corresponding to Av. *-ahr-*: B. *cr̥ks* 'vulture' (cf. § 249), from Av. *kahrkāsa-* (*k̥r̥ka-*, cf. Walde-Pokorny, i 413); S. *kr̥ps'k* 'lizard' *P* 13, 19, cf. Av. *kahr̥puna-*, NPers. *karbas*, *čilpāse* (H.).

140. (ii) *r* appears as *-yr-*. On palatalized *r* v. §§ 185, 190.

(1) *kyrm-* 'snake', cf. Skt. *k̥r̥mi-*.

141. (2) Corresponding to Av. *-ahr-*: Chr. *wyrq-*, B. *wyrk-* 'wolf', Av. *vahr̥ka-*; Man. *'ngyr(p)* 'with united bodies' *Kaw.* G 14, from Av. *\*hankahr̥pa-*.<sup>1</sup>

142-143. (3) Alternating with *-r-*? It is doubtful whether Man. *pt̥šmyr̥tyt̥*, Chr. *pcmr̥tyt̥*, Past Partc. Pl., Man. *pt̥šmrt̥*, Infin., 'to think, count', correspond to Skt. *sm̥r̥ta*, NPers. *šumurde*, or are secondary formations, cf. § 486 fn. 2.

144. (iii) *r* becomes *ə*, usually not expressed in writing, occasionally spelled *y*. In B. the historical spelling with *-r-* often persists. This reduction is attested, but does not always take place, before *s*, *z*, *š*, *ž*, *t*, perhaps also *γ*.

*ə* was sometimes lost, cf. *'kt-* § 171, *'ps-* ib., B. *'prtk* § 170, *wšyn-* § 177.

145. (1) Before *s*. Man. *ps-*, S. *'ps-*, beside B. (*pr̥s*) 'to ask' (*ps-*, *aps-*), *pt̥fs-/pt̥fs-* (*pt̥f/v̥as-*) 'to read', cf. §§ 52, 468, from (*pati-pr̥sa-*,

<sup>138</sup> The word for 'element', Man. *m̥r̥δ'spnd(t)*, Chr. *m̥r̥δ'spnt̥*, from *am̥r̥ta-sp̥nta-*, is not Sogdian; its *-δ-* suggests the same origin as that of *m̥r̥δw* 'death', in B. *z't m̥r̥δw* 'birth-death, *samsāra*', *Dhu* 38, *z't 't m̥r̥δw* *Vim* 7, Man. *z'δm̥r̥δw* *Tii D* 63 a 8. 10, cf. Parth. *z'dm̥r̥d*, and in B. *pyšm̥r̥δw* 'after death' *P* 8, 72 (H.).

<sup>141</sup> Man. *-gyrp-* further weakens Benveniste's connexion of B. (*kyδrpw*) with Av. *kahr̥p-*, which disagrees with phonetic rules. [v. H., *BSOAS*, xi 721.]

cf. B. *'p(̥)rs-*, Man. *wpr̥s*, § 138; S. *βr̥kst-* (*frak̥st-*), quoted § 1657, Past stem of Man. *fr̥kr̥nd-* 'to cut' (H.), v. § 152.

146. (2) Before *z*. *wyzz-*, cf. § 522, beside which B. texts also have the older spelling *wzzr-* (*SCE* 380. *Vim* 27. *P* 2, 95), 'right, true, stiff',<sup>1</sup> originally 'straight' (cf. its opposite B. *'kβ̥r̥k* 'wrong', lit. 'bent, crooked'), from Av. *\*var̥zra-*.<sup>2</sup>

147. (3) Before *š*. Cf. the loss of consonantic *r* before *š*+consonant, § 357; on initial *r* before *š* v. § 155. *wm̥št-*, Past stem, 'to spoil, destroy' *M* 356, 9, S. *wm̥r̥št-*, v. *BBB* p. 100 on e 7; with different preverb, *frm̥št-*, v. § 529; *wšyn-* (*wšayn-*), N. of Adamas and of the 20th day, from Av. *var̥θrayna-*, cf. §§ 211, 509; B. *wšn-* (*wšn-*) 'male' *P* 19, 20, cf. Skt. *v̥r̥šan* (H.); (*pr̥*) *wš-* 'hungry', from *\*w̥r̥š-*, v. § 210; Man. *qy̥št̥yc* 'cornfield', B. *k̥št̥yc-*, Man. *k̥št-*, Past stem, 'to sow', from *kr̥št-*, cf. also Man. *q̥š'wr̥zyy* 'ploughman', v. *BBB* p. 72 on 570; *-kyšp-*, from Av. *kar̥švar-*, in Man. *'βtkyšpy xw̥t̥w*, Nom., *M* 178 ii R 4, *'βtk[š]pyh xw̥t̥w*, Abl., *T ii D* 66, 2, 5 sq., 'the lord of the seven *kišvars*', epithet of the *Spiritus Vivens* (H.), B. *'βtkyšp*, Abl., *P* 3, 209, cf. § 498. [v. Addenda.]

148. (4) Before *ž* (cf. § 355), in Chr. *žy'wr* 'heart', from Man. *δr̥jy'wr*, v. § 287, and cf. *δr̥jyy*, § 138.

(5) Before *t*. Man. B. *'kt-* and *'krt-* (*əkt-*), Chr. *qt̥-* (*kt-*), 'to do, make', from *k̥r̥ta-*; Man. [*γ*] *wqt̥t̥*, B. *γwkt* 'sulphur', from *\*gauk̥r̥ta-*, cf. H., *BSOS* x 398; *'sptyy* 'complete, perfect', cf. *'spwrn-*, § 151; Chr. *plyqn*, S. *pt̥kntw* 'guilty', B. *pt̥w* 'retribution', B. *'prtk* 'guilty', cf. *BBB* p. 89 on 763, from *prt-* 'to condemn', cf. also § 487.

149. (6) Before *γ*. Only indirect evidence. Beside Man. B. *mry-* 'bird', cf. § 138, we have B. *'mry*, *SCE* 170. 174, pointing to a pronunciation *əmya*, cf. Khwār. *'mγ*; *mryw̥ndyy* 'lump', § 138, has been borrowed by NPers. as *muγunde* (H.), presumably from *\*məyunde*, with assimilation.

150. (7) In *cf-* 'to steal', from *t̥rp-*, B. *c̥šn-* 'thirst', from *\*t̥r̥šna-*, and B. (*pr̥*) *c̥štyh* 'terror', from *\*t̥r̥šti-*, v. § 277, *t̥r-* may first have become *tr̥-*, cf. §§ 152 sqq., then *č̥-*.

151. (iv) *r* appears as *wr*, reduced to *w* in Chr. *spwn-* (cf. § 356). B. *βwrt-*, Past stem, 'to offer, bring', v. § 486 fn. 1; *murt-*, Past stem, 'to die', cf. § 518, against older *mrt-*, § 138; B. *mwr̥zk-* (*mu'rk-*),

<sup>146</sup> *wr̥zrw* 'stiff (legs)' *SCE* 380.

<sup>146</sup> *\*var̥zra-* can be postulated as the adjective which appears in compounds as *var̥zi-*. Thus *var̥zi.čāšman-*, *\*dōiθra-*, mean 'with straight eyes', *\*saoka-*, *\*savah-*, 'giving straight help', *var̥zyan̥hvā-*, 'with straight purpose'. Differently on *wr̥zrw* Benv. *Notes* ii 226 sq.

v. §§ 522, 975, 'short, small', from \*m̥zuka-, cf. Gauthiot, *MSL* xviii 343 sq., where, however, the *w* may be due to a metathesis of *u*; B. *pwrd'nk* 'leopard' *P* 3, 137, cf. Skt. *pr̥dāku*; *pwrn*- 'full', cf. § 513, *spurn*-, 'spurn', Chr. *spwn*-,<sup>1</sup> from (*us*-) *pr̥na*- (v. § 99), cf. 'sptyy, § 148. Cf. also *kwn*-, 'to make' < *k̥nu*-.

152. (v) *r* becomes *ra*.

(1) Before -*nd*. Man. *frkrnd*- (Past stem S. *βrkst*-, v. § 145), 'ngrnd-', B. 'nkr'nt-, B. *ptkr*(?)nt-, from -*k̥rnt*- 'to cut', v. *BBB* p. 58 on 500 sq.

152a. (2) Before -*ng*. Man. *βtrng* 'oppression' *M* 108 R 1, from \**abi-trng*/ka-, cf. Pers. *fadrang*, *ādrang*, H., *BSOS* x 101.

152b. (3) Before -*yd*. Man. *tryt*- (*trayd*-) 'depressed', *βtryt*-, B. 'βtryt- *P* 2, 133, Past stem of B. *βtr*(?)*ync*- 'to oppress' (§ 153), v. *BBB* p. 60 on 510, from \**tr̥nxta*-.<sup>1</sup>

152c. (4) Before -*xs*. B. *m̥ntr*'ys, 3 Sg. Impf., 'became oppressive', v. § 403 fn., from \**ham-tr̥nxs*-.

153. (vi) *r* appears as *ry*.

(1) Before -*nc*.<sup>1</sup> *m̥rync*- 'to destroy', *M* 549 ii 4, cf. Av. *m̥rənča*-, *m̥rənčya*-, B. *βtr*(?)*ync*- 'to oppress', from \**abi-tr̥nj*/ča-, cf. § 152b.

153a. (2) Before -*vd*. S. *ptyryβt*-, Past stem, 'to take', *Anc. Lett.* iii 21, from -*grfta*-.

153b. (vii) *r* becomes *ru*.

(1) Before -*fs*. B. *zyrwβs*- 'to be raised' *Dhu* 257, v. H., *BSOS* x 509, from \**uz-grfs*-.

(2) In *pcmrws*- 'to touch', from \**m̥rs*-, cf. *BBB* p. 80 on 664, Bailey, *Zoroastrian Problems*, 214 fn.

154. (viii) In initial position.

(1) *r* becomes 'r- (*ar*-). 'rt'wspy'h 'community of the electi', v. § 470, S. 'rt'w, N. of the 25th day, v. § 237, from *rt*-; Man. *i* 'rdwk-' 'sincere', v. § 423, from *ardu*- in OPers. *ardumaniš*, cf. the adjective Av. *arədra*- (H.).

155. (2) *r*- became š, before š, in B. 'ššh 'bear' *SCE* 359, from \**r̥ša*-. With this development H. compares B. 'šcy'n'k 'worthy', v. *BBB* p. 93 on b 42, from \**ar̥jy-an*- (or \**r̥jy-an*-), with metathesis S. 'yšc'ny and 'yšc'n'y, 10, 123 (*T* i a), from which Man. 'yjn, v. § 290.

<sup>151</sup> Cf. Yaghn. *pun* 'full'.

<sup>152b</sup> Thus H., who assumes an OIr. side form \**tr̥nxta*- for Av. *βtr̥nxta*-.

<sup>153</sup> -*inc* is perhaps merely a secondary development from -*anc*-, cf. §§ 106 sqq.

## Prothetic aleph

156. Two types should be distinguished:

(1) A euphonic prothetic 'r-, before groups of consonants which (a) are inherited from Old Iranian (§§ 157 sq.; with the order of consonants inverted, §§ 439. 441),

(b) are the result of a non-initial short vowel having been reduced in the first syllable (v. §§ 169-72, 178 sq.). These cases can be regarded as examples of regressive metathesis of the short vowel, cf. the history of B. *wyws*, § 417 fn. 1.

(2) A prothetic 'r- proper, before single consonants which (a) are single by origin (§§ 159-61),

(b) have become single owing to a metathesis (§ 162).<sup>1</sup>

The prothetic 'r- does not affect the rhythmic value of light stems, cf. § 497.

157. (i) Euphonic prothetic 'r- before Old Iranian groups of consonants (in Man., before *s*, also 'r-).

(1) 'stryc 'feminine, female' *M* 549 i 16. 19. *T* ii B R 16, 'stryc *M* 549 i 17. 18. 20, *stryc* *BBB*, from \**strika*-, 'st'rytyy, Pl. Obl., *M* 264 A 26, S. 'st'rk̥t X 1 ii R 5, Man. *st'ryyt* *M* 140 R 2, 'stars', from \**stāraka*-, B. 'st'np 'coarse', Man. *stmb* 'stern', cf. *Sogd.* 18 bottom, and Benv., *Notes* i 43, Man. (?)*st*(*t*)*βtyy* *S* 40 ii R 3,<sup>1</sup> 'st'βtyyh *BBB*, 'stβtc', Fem., *T* i D, *stβty* *M* 134 ii R 7, 'cruel', from *stamb*-/*stafita*-, cf. Av. *stənbya*; Man. B. 'sp's, Chr. *sp's*, 'service', S. 'sp'yš-, *spyš*-, (*T* *M* 389 a V 27), Chr. *spš*-, Pres. stem, 'to serve' (cf. § 192), B. 'spyšt-, Man. 'spaxšt-, Past stem (cf. § 257), from *spas*-, Man. B. 'sp'd, *JRAS*, 1944, 143, 26. *Vim* 136, Man. 'sp'dy *BBB* 519, B. *sp'd* *O*<sup>2</sup> 31, Chr. *sp'd* ii 1, 24, 'army', from Av. *spāda*-, Man. 'šm'x, Personal Pron. 2 Pl., *M* 894 i 5. 10, S. 'šm'γ X 1 ii R 11, Man. *šm'x* *BBB* f 51. *M* 915, 6. 9, Chr. *šm'x*, B. *šm'γw* *VJ* 24<sup>b</sup>. 380, &c., from OIr. \**smāxam*; B. 'βšy'ws, Man. *fšy'ws* 'superior, gentleman', v. § 311; Man. 'xšp-, B. 'γšp- (*əxšap*-), Man. *xšp*- *M* 136 V hl., 'night', from Av. *xšapā*-, S. 'γšywr, Man. *xšywr*, N. of the 4th day, B. 'γšdrkt'k 'princely', from *xšāθra*-, v. § 299; 'xšn'w- 'to satisfy' *M* 896, 6, from Av. *xšnāvaya*-, Man. 'xšn'm, B. 'γšn'm, from \**xšnāuman*-, v. § 130; Man. 'xšnk-, B. 'γšnk- (*əxšnak*-), 'magnificent', Chr. *xšnq*-, v. § 511; B. 'γšyβt-, Man. *xšyβt*-, 'milk', from Av. *xšvipta*-, cf. *BBB* p. 101 on e 18, v. below § 243; &c.

158. (2) Here may be mentioned Chr. 'rwzš 'bandage', v. §§ 221 fn.

<sup>156</sup> This distinction is only precautionary, since the consonant isolated through metathesis in the examples so far noticed is always *x*, so that they may form one group with those quoted in § 160.

<sup>157</sup> H., *BBB* p. 137, read *wyβtyy*.

347, from the base \**rwaīs*- (v. H., *ST* ii 603), to which also belongs B. \**rwštk* 'bound, fixed' (§ 116), although there is a prothetic vowel also in Av. *urvaēs*-,<sup>1</sup> and, acc. to H., B. \**rwynt*- *Dhy* 70, Chin. 'to wash', from \**rwantaya*- (? cf. Av. \**urvant*-).

159. (ii) Prothetic ʾ- proper, before originally single consonants. With preference before *k* and *χ*, but also before other consonants.

(1) Before *k*. Man. \**kwrδδ* and *kwrδδ* 'where', B. \**ky* (beside *ky*), \**ky*, \**kw* (beside *kw*), against Man. Chr. *ky*, *ky*, *kw*, cf. § 1581; Man. \**kwtyy* 'dog' *T* ii *D* 62, 6, S. \**kwt*- *SCE. Anc. Lett.* iii 24, against Man. *kwtyy*, cf. Sanglechi *kud*, *IIFL* ii 397, Oss. *kudz*, &c. (v. Justi, *Kurdische Grammatik*, p. xi), v. H., *BSOS* ix 566 fn. 4; Man. S. \**kwcyk* 'Kuchean', v. H., loc. cit.

160. (2) Before *χ*. B. \**γw* (beside *γw*, cf. Rosenberg, *Izv.*, 1918, 825), against Man. Chr. *xw*, v. §§ 1405 sqq.; B. \**γwšt*-, Past stem, 'to wish', *Dhy* 84. *VJ* 1077, Man. Chr. *xwšt*- (*χwšt*-).<sup>1</sup> Cf. also § 162 (with § 156 fn.).

161. (3) Before other consonants. B. \**cw*, Man. B. *cw*, cf. § 1581; Man. B. \**δw* (*əδū*) 'two', v. § 1316, may owe its ʾ- to Man. B. \**δw* (presumably *əδwa*, from *δuwa*); B. \**pkš*- (*əpakš*-, light stem) 'side' *VJ* 8, borrowed from Skt. *pakṣa*, cf. Salemann, *apud* Rosenberg, *Izv.*, 1918, 831; Man. \**wyjt*- 'harm' § 219, cf. the prothetic *i*- of Av. *iwizayaθā*, *Air. Wb.* col. 1688. [v. Add.]

162. (iii) Prothetic ʾ- proper, before *χ* isolated through metathesis (cf. § 156 fn.). B. \**γwštr*- 'camel', Man. *xwštr*-, from \**uχštra*-, v. § 257; B. \**γwšyp*- 'squint-eyed', from Av. *xšvaēwa*-, v. § 416; B. \**γwšy*- 'to grow', from *waxš*-, v. § 428; Man. \**xwšndyy* 'satisfied, glad', from *χšnūtaka*-, v. §§ 416, 414a.

#### Reduction of Internal Short Vowels not in positione

163. (i) Reduction in the third syllable has been recognized only in Man. *wcnyy* (*T* i *D*), *wšnyh*, and *wčnyy*, 'old, worn out', *wične*, from *wišne*, from \**witašne* (v. § 164), from \**witačne* (v. § 261), from \**witačina*-, v. *BBB* p. 62 on 516. In *xwmn*-, N. of the 2nd day, *xumna*, from Av. *vohumanah*-, v. §§ 208, 512, and in *xwrmz*-, from *ahura-mazdāh*- (cf. Uigur, &c. *χormuzda*), v. § 86, the reduction may have taken place after the initial syllable had been reduced, hence in the second syllable.

158<sup>1</sup> Otherwise the only example of a prothetic vowel noticed in Chr. is \**zwntq* 'they will live' i 62, 5. The initial ʾ- of Chr. \**zbr*- 'to cross (a river)' ii 1, 21 (thus to be read acc. to H., who connects it with Av. *zbar*-), may represent the preverb *ā*-.

160<sup>1</sup> Note that the extremely frequent Pres. stem B. \**γwyz*- (*χwēz*-), never has a prothetic aleph.

164. (ii) Reduction in the second syllable.

(1) Indicated by phonetic changes. The spelling *wcnyy*, beside *wšnyh* and *wčnyy*, shows that after the third syllable of \**witačina*- had been reduced (§ 163), the vowel of the second syllable was also lost; \**wyz*\**mndty* 'descending', Chr. \**wyz*-, Pres. stem (*ōyz*-, from *ōχaz*-, cf. § 55; *χ* becoming *γ* seems to indicate direct contact with *z*); *zyrn* (*zirn*) 'gold', v. § 183 (the fact that Av. *zaranya*- did not become \**zrin*-, suggests that it had lost its second *a*); *βxtm* (*vaxtam*) 'most divine', from *bagatama*- (*γ* becoming *χ* in direct contact with *t*, v. § 254); *zng* (*zang*) in Chr. *zng zngny* 'of all sorts', *nyzng* 'different' (both in *ST* ii), Man. -*zngn*-, -*znngn*-, v. § 1034, from OIr. \**zanaka*- (*k* becoming *g* after *n*, v. § 245); *δβmbn* 'lady', from Av. *dāmānō*. *paθnī*- (*p* becoming *b* after *m*, v. § 304).

The preverb *pati*- became *pat*- (subsequently, often *pt*-, v. §§ 170, 176), as shown by the spelling *pc*- where *pati*- preceded a *š* or *č*: Chr. *pcm*\**r* 'counting', Man. B. *ptšm*\**r*, from \**pati-šmāra*-, Man. *pczš*- and *ptczš*- (*pčaxš*-) 'to receive' (Impf. *ptyczš*-), from \**pati-čaxša*-, cf. § 520; Chr. *pcqwy*-, Man. *ptškwy*- (Impf. *ptyškwy*-) 'to address, say'; Chr. *pcng* and *ptšng*, B. *ptšnkh*, 'cross, torture-instrument', from \**šan*- (H.), v. § 616 fn.; Chr. *pcpr*-, Man. S. *ptšpr*-, 'to arrange, place, fix'.

The preverb *pari*- became *par*-. Chr. *pšt*\**y*- 'to prepare', from Man. *pršt*\**y*-, cf. § 562 (loss of *r* before *š*, v. § 357).

The preverb *awa*-, and other words beginning with *awa*-, became *aw*-, contracted into *ō*-, cf. § 83 fn.

The fact that \**rsk* 'envy' *M* 118 ii V 11, has preserved the initial *a*- of Av. *araska*- (against § 82), suggests that it was pronounced *arsk*. At a late stage of the language, Man. \**yβtyy* 'perverted' *Sogd.* 16, 11, B. \**yβrk* (*āyavde*), lost its *a*, as shown by the Pers. form *ēfde*, v. H., *BSOS* x 103.

165. (2) Suggested by the rhythmic law (not more than one internal short vowel admissible in a light stem, v. § 484). *βym*- (*vaym*-) 'temple', cf. § 509, from \**bagina*-, v. H., *BSOS* viii 584; *jmn*- (*žamn*-) 'hour', from *žamana*-, cf. § 512; B. *mwjšk*- (*muχšk*-) 'fly', cf. § 975, from \**maχšika*-; *wβyw* (*wvyu*) 'sive', from *ubayam*, v. § 101; cf. also *xwmn*-, § 163.

166. (iii) Some general changes have come about as a result of the tendencies just illustrated:

(1) After the transfer of all verbs into the thematic class, the ending of the 3 Sg. Pres., -*i* for light stems, -*t* for heavy stems, is added directly to the stem, the thematic vowel -*a*- having been lost. This is





*wjxstyjh*, 3 Sg. Pres., 'to be separated', cf. §§ 213, 825; *wjš-* (*wjš-*) 'joy' &c., cf. § 213; *wšjn-* (*wšajn-*), v. § 509.

178. (4) Indicated by the rhythmic law and a prothetic *ʔ*- jointly. Man. *ʔptr-* 'father' *M* 771, 5, S. *ʔptr-* *ST* i 86, 1. *SCE* 514, Man. *ʔptr-* *M* 143, 5. *T ii D* 79, 1, 11, Chr. *ʔptr-*, from Av. *p(i)tar-*; Man. *ʔftm-*, *ftm-* ((*ʔftm-*), cf. §§ 318, 1331; B. *ʔškr-* 'to expel', Man. *ʔškrtyh*, 3 Sg. Pres., *M* 765 k 2, (*ʔ*)*škar-*, cf. § 317; B. *ʔšʔm-* 'escorting', Man. *ʔšmłw* *šʔr-*, Pret., 'to send' (v. § 512), *ʔšām*, *ʔšamt-*, cf. § 317; B. *ʔšʔrty* *P* 2, 138, Man. *ʔšʔrty* *M* 796 i 9. 11. 14, *ʔšʔrty* *M* 108 V 2, 3 Sg. Pres., 'to pass', (*ʔ*)*ʔšʔr-*, v. § 318.

179. (5) Following the reduction of an internal short vowel in the first syllable, some words acquire an anaptyctic vowel instead of a prothetic *ʔ*-, cf. Pers. *uspurz*, beside *supurz*, &c. In such cases B. scribes are liable to spell both the anaptyctic vowel and the prothetic aleph. Man. *ʔβj-*, S. *ʔβz-* *Anc. Lett.* iii 4 (*ʔvž-*), Man. *βyj-* *M* 178 ii V 18, *βyyj-* *T ii D* 117, 20, Chr. *byž-*, B. *βyz-* *T iii Š* 23, 8 (*vž-*, cf. Pers. *faž*, *fiž*, H., *BSOS* x 101), Man. *βj-*, Chr. *bž-*, B. *βz-* *P* 2, 42 (*vž-* or *vəž-*), B. (usual spelling) *βyz-*, 'bad', from Av. *bazda-*, cf. § 379; S. *ʔpš-*, Man. Chr. *pš-*, Chr. B. *pyš-*, B. *ʔpyš-*, from Av. *pasča*, v. § 373; (*ʔ*)*pčāt*, *pčāt*, 'time (French *fois*)', lit. 'interval, break' (same root as in *nc'y-*, with preverb *apa-*, *upa-*, or *pati-*): Chr. *pcʔty* 'rest' *ii* 2, 23, S. *prymyð* *pcʔt* 'this time' *T M* 389 a R 29, *wyspw* *pcʔtw* 'every time' *T M* 389 a V 22, *prw* *yw* *pcʔt* 'at once' *Vim.* 109,<sup>1</sup> *pr* *yw* *pycʔt* *Vim* 121.

180. (v) A metathesis of *u* sometimes reduces the number of syllables of a word. Cf. *žuxšk-* 'disciple', from *\*driḡuška-*, § 410; *sumdr-* 'ocean', from *samudra*, v. § 413; *itkw-* 'bridge', from *\*haētuka-*, v. § 423.

### Consonants

#### y

181. (i) Preserved.

(1) *yʔn* 'favour', from *yāna-*; *syʔk* (*sayāk*) 'shadow, canopy', from *\*sayāka-*, v. § 124; *ztyw* 'exiled' from *uzdahyu-*, cf. § 97; &c.

182. (2) Palatalizes a preceding *z*. *ʔjy-*, Pres. stem,<sup>1</sup> 'to be born',

179<sup>1</sup> B. *ywmpcʔty* *Dhu* 181, should perhaps be read *ywʔcʔty*, unless *ywn* is the pronominal Oblique of *yw*; cf. *Dhu* 120 where, however, the context suggests that *ywn* is a mistake for *ywn*.

182<sup>1</sup> Cf. B. *ʔzyt*, 3 Sg. Pres.; *ʔzy*, 3 Sg. Impf., *VJ* 5a; Man. *ʔjyʔt*, 3 Sg. Subj., *T ii B* V 19; B. *ʔzyʔy*, 3 Sg. Opt., *Vim* 68; B. *ʔzy*, Infin., in *ʔzy myry* 'saṃsāra', cf. Benv., *Notes* i 29 sq.; B. *ʔzyh*, *ʔzy*, verbal *-ākā-* noun, cf. § 972. H. reads this Pres. stem *āzay-*. One would, however, expect a form like *\*āzayāt*, 3 Sg. Subj., to become *\*āzyāt*. Perhaps the Pres. stem was *āzy-*

from *\*āzaya-*, cf. Lentz, *ST ii* 574 c, and above, § 124; *šryy* 'heart' *M* 591, 17, B. *šry SCE* 99, from *\*džaya-*, from *zřdaya-*, v. Benv., *MSL* xxiii 126, cf. *šryʔwr*, § 287; *jyk* 'damage', from *zyā-*, v. § 205.

183. (ii) Disappears:

(1) After affecting the vowel of the preceding syllable, whereby:

(a) *ā* becomes *ē* (*i*). *zyrn* (*zirn*) 'gold' *M* 135 i 9. 48. 54. *T i D*, from *\*zarnya-*, from *zaranya-*; *nyrk* (*nirk*) 'male', from *naryaka-*; Chr. *dyzʔw* (*diḡāw*) 'village', from *dahyāw-*, v. § 398 fn. 1; *myδʔn* (*medān*) 'middle, waist', from Av. *maidyāna-*; passives like *xwyn-*, § 540, causatives like *prwyrt-*, § 543, &c. Cf. also §§ 189, 192.

184. (b) *ā* becomes *ē* (*i*). The causatives *xwyr-*, § 542 (b), *syn-*, § 543 (f), *ʔzyr-*, § 548. Cf. also §§ 188, 193.

185. (c) *r* becomes *ir*. Man. *ʔtyr-*, *ʔtr-*, B. *ʔtyr-*, Pres. stem, 'to pass', v. § 178, Man. B. *wytr-*, B. *wytʔyr-*, 'to go', cf. § 213 fn. 2, from *\*tṛya-* (differently Tedesco, *ZII*, ii 37); *myr-* 'to die', from *mṛya-*; *miθr-* 'death', with metathesis from *\*mirθ-* (cf. § 440), from Av. *mərəθyu-* (H.), v. § 507; the passives *ptšmyr-*, B. *ʔtyr-*, v. § 540. Cf. also § 190.

186. (d) *-u-* becomes *-we-* (*-wi-*) (on *-uz-* v. § 197): Chr. *nyrwymt* (*nīrwend*), 3 Sg. Impf., 'to dress', from *\*ni-gundaya-*, v. *BBB* p. 76.

187. (e) *-au-* becomes

(a) *-ē-* (*-ay-*) (cf. also § 133). *narys-* 'to reproach', from *\*ni-xrausaya-*, v. *BBB* p. 76, to which Dr. Henning now adds *ptβyδ-* 'to know, recognize' (cf. § 586), from *\*pati-baudaya-*, Man. *nβyδ-*, *T ii D* 139 ii 6, 'to kiss, contact (of lamps between each other)', from *\*ham-baudaya-*, and Man. *βjy-* *BBB* p. 122<sup>b</sup>, B. *ʔβzy-* *P* 2, 251. 261, *ʔβzy-* *P* 6, 163, *ʔzy* 3 Sg. Impf. *P* 2, 187, 'to grow' (Intrans.), cf. the noun of action Man. *βjyn* § 1026, *vžay-* < *abi-žawya-*, Passive to *abi-žāwaya-* § 571.

(β) *-we-* (*-wi-*), v. § 191.

188. (2) After palatalizing a preceding *z*, *s*, as well as affecting the vowel of the preceding syllable.

(a) *-āz-* becomes *-ēž-*. *nwyj-* 'to collect', v. § 542 (a); Chr. *xyž-* 'to raise', v. § 543 (d); B. *ywyz-* (*xwēž-*) 'to wish', from *\*xwāzaya-* (on Man. *xwj-* v. § 232); Chr. *fryž-* 'to direct', from *\*fra-rāzaya-*, v. § 319.

189. (b) *-arz-* became first *\*erž-*, then, acc. to § 355, *-ež-*, cf. *prwyj-* 'to feed' (Trans.), § 548 (b).

before vocalic endings (cf. Khot. *ysyāre*, 3 Pl. Pres., *ysyāmāti* 'birth'), *āzay-* before consonantic endings. Cf. also the Pres. stem *nīž-* 'to go out', beside *nīzay-*, v. § 568 fn.

190. (c) Similarly, -rz- became first \*-irž- (cf. § 185), then -iž-, in *prwyj-* 'to feed' (Intrans.), § 548 (b).

191. (d) -auz- becomes -wēž- (-wīž-), in B. 'pyw'yz- (*əpywēž-*) 'to conceal', from \*gauzaya-, v. Lentz, *ST ii* 591 a. Cf. § 187.

192. (e) -as- becomes -eš- (-iš-). B. 'sp'yš- *SCE* 192. *Vim* 102, Chr. *spš-* *ST ii*, 'to serve', *speš-*, from Av. *spasya-*; B. *kyšph* 'turtle' *SCE* 157. 353, from Av. *kasyapa-*.

193. (f) -ās- becomes -ēš-. *nyyš-* 'to spoil', from *nāsaya-*, v. § 549.

194. (3) Palatalization of a preceding consonant only, takes place in initial position, or after *i*, *ai*, *u*.

(a) *s* becomes *š*.

(a) Initial. *šw* 'black' *M* 769, 7, from Av. *syāva-*; B. *šryw*, Man. *šryw* (v. § 410) 'lion', from \**syargawa-*, cf. Bailey, *BSOS* x 898 sq.

195. (β) After -i-, -ai-, cf. Chr. 'ndyš-, v. § 549 (d).

196. (b) č- becomes š-. *šw-* 'to go', from \**čyaw-*; B. *št* 'happy, rich', from \**čyāta-*.

197. (c) -z- becomes -ž- in *pcwj-* (*pčūž-*) 'to be driven', v. § 541 (k).

198. (4) Lost without trace.

(a) *šyr'q* (*širāk*) 'kindness, goodness, beauty, perfection',<sup>1</sup> acc. to H. from \**širyāk*, abstract of *šyr-* 'good'; *niž-* 'to go out' (from \**nižya-*) from *nižaya-*, beside *nižay-*, v. § 568 fn.; Man. *fryš-* 'to send' (*fryš'ndskun*, 3 Pl. Pres., *BSOS* viii 585, *fryšk* 3 Sg. Pres. (?), v. § 641), from *fra-aišaya-*, against B. *pr'šy*, v. § 129.

(b) Causatives in OIr. -*āwaya-*, appear in Sogdian as Pres. stems in -*w-*, v. § 546.

199. (c) Man. B. *pc'yt* (*pčāit*) 'it is right, fit, salutary, convenient', *pc'ytt* Man. Lett. i 22, Man. *pc'ytq'm*, 3 Sg. Fut., B. *rtyšy* . . . *šyr* *pc'yt* *ZY* *prtr* *βwt* 'he will recover' *P* 3, 41 sqq., not clear *P* 2, 104 *šy* . . . *pc'yth* . . . *ptw'y* 'he happens (?) to kill', \**pc'y*, substantivized Infinitive, from which the comparative Chr. *pc'yy* *str* (quoted § 1307) 'more salutary, profitable' (instead of 'ἀνεκτότερον'), and the adjective Man. *pc'ycyq* *T i D* 51, against B. *pc'y'yt*, Man. *pc'y'yt* *M* 110 ii V 8, *pc'y'ytq'm*, 3 Sg. Fut.-Opt. (v. § 649), substan-

<sup>198</sup> Cf. *šyr'q* 'nβrz βr- 'hospitably to offer kindness' *M* 617 ii 5 sq.; Man. *pr wyspw šyr'k*. . . *T ii D* 163 b i 7; . . . *mytryy* . . . *šyr'k* . . . 'love . . . kindness' *M* 849, 8 sq.; *šyr'ky*, Obl., 'beauty' or 'perfection', *M* 178 i R 13; B. *m'yy* *šyr'k* 'great kindness' *Dhu* 74 sq. In *VJ* 230. 370, *šyr'k* seems to mean 'goods, possessions'. B. *šyr'k m'n* *SCE* 191, *šyr'kh šm'r'kh* *VJ* 967, may represent the adjective *širak*, v. § 982 fn. 2.

tive B. *pcy'y*, *pcy'y'y*, \**pcy'y*, Man. *pcyy'y* *M* 110 ii R 12 (B. passages quoted *BBB* p. 99 on d 2). Acc. to H. perhaps from \**pai-āy-*.

200. (d) Dialectically, perhaps, in B. \**pəžāmč*, \**patžāmč* (inferred from the pseudo-historical spellings *pδr'mch* *SCE* 435, *ptδr'mc* ib. 451), against B. *pδry'mc* *SCE* 36, *ptzy'mc* *Dhu* 147, Man. *ptjy'mc* *M* 135 i 1, 'quarrel'.<sup>1</sup>

201. Conspectus for the palatalization of *y*.

Sounds affected	<i>y</i> disappears	<i>y</i> remains
None	198-200	181
<i>a</i>	<i>e</i> , 183	
<i>ā</i>	<i>ē</i> , 184	
<i>i</i>	<i>ir</i> , 185	
<i>u</i>	<i>we</i> , 186	
<i>au</i>	<i>ē</i> , <i>ay</i> , 187	
<i>z</i> alone	<i>ž</i> , 197	<i>ž</i> , 182
<i>arz</i>	<i>ež</i> , 189	
<i>rz</i>	<i>iž</i> , 190	
<i>āz</i>	<i>ēž</i> , 188	
<i>auz</i>	<i>wēž</i> , 191	
<i>s</i> alone	<i>š</i> , 194	
<i>as</i>	<i>eš</i> , 192	
<i>ās</i>	<i>ēš</i> , 193	
<i>č</i> alone	<i>š</i> , 196	

202. (iii) -(i)ya- becomes -i- (-ē-). *pδynd* 'threshold', from *pai-anta-*, cf. H., *BSOS* x 100; *pryβyy* (*parive*) 'cloud' *M* 140 R 8, B. *pr'yβ'k*, from \**pari-abra-*, cf. Konow, *Saka Studies*, 173 a, Bailey, *BSOS* ix 77;<sup>1</sup> the suffix -ik, v. § 977, &c.

203. (iv) -aya- becomes ē (-ī-), e.g. in the ending of the 3 Pl. Opt.,<sup>1</sup> v. § 759.

204. (v) -ahya becomes -ē (-ī) in the ending of the Gen. Sg., v. §§ 1177, 1198.

<sup>200</sup> It is assumed that *ptjy'mc* is the -āmč Infinitive (v. § 1102) of a Pres. stem *patiy-*, of which we have the Pres. Partc. *ptjyny* in a doubtful passage quoted below, § 285 fn. 1, and perhaps the 3 Sg. Subj. in an unpublished B. text (*T iii S* 313, 11 sqq.): 'ky *MN* 'ws'yt'p'zn kβny *ptywšt* m'yδ *ZY L* 'ptzyt' p'rwty šy pyrt *ZY* pr šwt rty . . . šnn β'yšt pr'yw "z'yt 'he who with a pure heart listens for a while (to this Sūtra), not ptzy-ing it, but believing in it, and behaving according to it, will be born amongst the gods'. Here *ptzy-* may mean something like 'to dispute, disparage'. Unfortunately the reading *ptzynt* cannot be excluded. With *patiy-*, H. compares Av. *aŷyamna-*, OPers. *fiyamna*, Khot. *jin-*.

<sup>202</sup> B. *pr'yβ-* *Dhy* 207, can hardly be the same word, as suggested by Bailey, *Zor. Probl.*, p. 131. Acc. to Weller's analysis of the Chinese text (*Monumenta Serica*, iii (1938), 92) it should mean 'lovely'.

<sup>203</sup> Vocalized as ē in *ST i*: *šwyniqn* 36, 14, *psynt* 58, 3, *wbyntqn* 30, 9, 68, 21.

205. (vi)  $(i)yā-$  becomes  $-ē-$  ( $-i-$ ). *pryp-* 'to lead', § 588, from *pari-āpaya-* (H.), cf. *Šiynī firēp-*, Geiger, *Gdr. Ir. Phil.* i<sup>2</sup> 329; *jyk* *M* 178 i V 28. *M* 821 i 13, Chr. *žyq*, B. *zykh*, 'damage', from *zyā-* (H.), cf. § 182.

206. (vii) On  $(i)y$  becoming  $i$  v. §§ 493 sq.

206 a. (viii) As observed by H., initial *ya-* has become *i-* in the following examples: B. *'yz-* 'to sacrifice' *SCE* 248, beside B. *yz-* *P* 2, 568,  $<yaza-$ ; B. *'yky* 'yakša' *P* 2, 404, otherwise spelled Man. B. *ykyš-*; B. *'yšph* 'jasper' *VJ* 15<sup>b</sup>, *Dhy* 221, cf. NPers. *yašm* and *yašb*. Cf. initial *u-*  $<w-$  followed by a brief vowel, §§ 210, 214 sq.

### Old Iranian *w* (Avestan *v*)

207. (i) Generally preserved as *w*. *wrδ* (*ward*) 'rose'; *z'wr* (*zāwar*) 'strength'; *nwy* (*nawe*) 'new'; *ryw* (*ryw*) 'soul, body, self'.

(ii) Initial *awa-* becomes *wa-* or  $\bar{o}$ -, v. § 83 fn.

208. (iii) If a short vowel preceded by initial *w-* is reduced, various results can be observed:

(1) *w-* is lost in Man. *xwmn*, N. of the 2nd day, from Av. *vohu-manah-*, in *xwm'r* 'consolation', from Av. *vohu- maθra-*, cf. § 391, and in *xwrn-* 'blood' (v. § 209), from Av. *vohunī/a-*. These being the only examples, it is possible that *w-* has been absorbed by a metathesis of *wxu-* becoming *xwu-*, *xu-*. The initial  $\bar{o}$ - of the S. spelling *'xwmn*, may be prothetic (cf. §§ 160, 162), or represent a trace of the old *wa-*.

209. (2) *w-* is reduced to *y-* in *yxwn-*, *yxwrn-*, with metathesis *ywxn-*, the doublet of *xwrn-*, v. §§ 208, 360, 417, 1168 fn.; cf. the reduction of *wi-* becoming *y-*, § 220, which, in view of *yδ-* 'shape', is not quite the same as the present one.

210. (3) *w-* becomes *u-* in Chr. *'wšnty*, S. *wš'nt'yt*, Pl., 'hungry', v. § 1068, B. *wš'y-* 'to be hungry' *SCE* 29, from *\*wš'*,<sup>1</sup> cf. Morgenstierne, *EVP* 95, and in Chr. *'wštm'x* 'paradise' ii 2, 24, from *\*wštmāx*, from Av. *vahištam ahūm*, cf. § 113 (vii).<sup>2 3</sup>

210<sup>1</sup> Cf. also Man. *wšn* \*'hungry', § 386, *wšn*?

210<sup>2</sup> The usual Man. and Chr. spelling is *wštm'x*, but Man. *wyštm'x* occurs in *T i D* (Par. 7). The latter would seem to suggest that OIr. *wahi-* had become *wai-* (§ 398), *wa-*, *wa-*, which remained with some speakers, while others reduced the short vowel completely. Cf. also S. *wp'nc'k* (*u-*, *w-*, or *wa-pandē*), from *\*waipantāka-*, § 398.

210<sup>3</sup> Difficult is the case of Man. *'wntn* (*āndan*, *ōndan*?) *Sogd.* 21, 4, beside *undn* 'such, so much', v. § 1609, from *awant-*, which can hardly be compared with *'wrδ* and *'wδ* (§ 83 fn.); an analogy may be found in Khwār. *'wsp* 'all', from *wisp-*, cf. H., *ZDMG* 90, \*32\*.

211. (4) *w-* remains. *wšyn-* (*wšayn-*), from *\*wšayn-*, from *wrθrayna-* (v. §§ 147, 177, 509), cf. the legend *o šlayno*, A. Stein, *Zor. Deities on Indo-Scythian coins*, 5; cf. also *wyš-*, § 213.

212. (iv) The prefix *wi-* tends to preserve its identity, as can be seen from numerous Man. and Chr. words where it is always spelled *wy-*, v. § 216. On the other hand, it can be shown that its  $-i-$  had been reduced in a number of words, cf. §§ 213-15. Hence, where Man. and Chr. spell *w-*, the reading can be *w-*, *u-*, or *wi-*.<sup>1</sup> B. scribes are, of course, apt to use the historical spelling *wy-* for *w-* or *u-*.<sup>2</sup>

213. (1) *wi-* has been reduced (on *wi-* becoming *y-* v. § 220).

(a) *wi-* became *w-* in the light stems *wyš-* (*wyaš-*)<sup>1</sup> 'to rejoice, &c.', v. §§ 517, 1212, *wjxs-* (*wžaxs-*) 'to be separated', v. §§ 177, 825, *wkr-* (*wkar-*) 'kind, species', from *\*wi-kara-*, cf. § 515, B. *wyδβysty* (*wδvaxsti*), 3 Sg. Pres., *Vim* 82 'is strewn, covered (with flowers)' (Weller).<sup>2</sup>

214. (b) *wi-* became *u-* in *wprs* 'question' *M* 591, 2. *M* 674, 7. 10, B. *wp'rs* *SCE* 64. *Dhu* 236. *DN* 1, *wp'rs* *DN* 12, and in Chr. *wy'm*, S. *wy[']m* and *'wy'm*, with metathesis Chr. *γw'm* \*'foreign country', v. § 421.

215. (c) *wi-* became *w-* or *u-*. *wm't-*, suppletive Past stem of *x-* 'to be', from *\*wi-māta-*, cf. Parth. *wm'dn*, MPers. *gumāy-* (H.),

212<sup>1</sup> *w-* almost certainly stands for *wi-* in Man. *wcnyy* 'worn out', considering the reductions mentioned in §§ 163 sq. Cf. also, in Man. texts in Sogdian writing, the loanwords *wy'zyšn*, an astronomical term, *X* 1 i V 11 (MPers. *wihēzišn*), and *wβ'r's* 'discourse' *JRAS*, 1944, p. 137 (Parth. *wifrās*).

212<sup>2</sup> Cf. the inverse spelling *wyzyw'n'k* *P* 6, 193 (*užbyōne*), v. § 377.

213<sup>1</sup> Hence the metathesis in Chr. *γwštyq*, 3 Sg. Fut., i 72, 4. 73, 11, B. *γwšw* 1 Sg. Impf. (v. H., *BSOS* viii 585 fn. 2), B. *γwšnt* Pres. Partc., cf. § 414 a fn. Man. *wyγwšnd* 3 Pl. Impf., *M* 135 ii 30 (against B. *wyγšnt* *VJ* 1458) is the result of a contamination between *wyaš-* and *γuš-*.

213<sup>2</sup> Elsewhere the inference drawn from light stem endings, that *wi-* had become *w-*, is contradicted by Man. or Chr. spellings *wy-*. In such cases the reduction may have taken place only locally, just as in the case of the prefixes *pt-*, *pc-*, and *p-*, cf. § 174. S. *wycyntty*, 3 Sg. Pres., 'to choose', *X* 1 i V 20, S. *wcytwδ'r-*, Trans. Pret., *T* *M* 389 a V 30, Chr. *wcn-* ii 1, 43, Man. *wcytyt* 'electi' *BBB* f 81 (concerning which the influence of the MPers. spelling *wcyd-* has to be borne in mind, v. *BBB* p. 137 b), against Chr. *wycnd'r-* i 33, 12. 38, 5, Man. *wyclyy* 'electus'; if in the sentence *'rly 'wrm wrmyy'h 'skwnd* 'they are quiet in quietness' (?) *M* 178 i V 9 sq., *wrmyy'h* is the Locative of *\*wram-*, this would be a side form of *wyrm-* *Sogd.* 50, 5, frequent in B., cf. *ST* ii 600 c; B. *wyrtty*, 3 Sg. Pres., *O* 15, *wyrtty k'm*, 3 Sg. Fut., *VJ* 272, 'to go', which is contradicted by Man. *wytrnd*, 3 Pl. Pres. or Subj., *M* 617 i 6 (only Man. passage, apart from *wytrnd*, 3 Pl., *Kaw.* G 33, which may be imperfect; in B. always *wy-*, cf. § 630), may have been influenced by the light stem *ftr-* (§ 178).

where a reduction is suggested by the loss of *w-* in the side form *m't-*, v. § 803; in Man. *wyr'tyy* 'watchful', the reduction can be inferred from the Chr. metathesis *γwr'ty*, v. *BBB* p. 84 on 703 (the *y* of Man. *wyr't-* is due to MPers. orthography), cf. Chr. *γw'm*, § 214.

216. (2) Here are examples where the spelling *wy-* is the only attested one (Imperfects are, of course, disregarded, cf. §§ 625. 630):

(a) *wyc'w-* 'witness', cf. *BBB* p. 94 on b 46, and below, § 247; *wyδ'β* \*'danger' *T ii D 66 b 12. 19*, from *√dab-*? (H.); Man. B. *wyδ's-*, Chr. *wyδ's-* 'to wonder'; Man. *wyδ't M 483, 9*, B. *wyδ't'y* *Dhy 87*, 'span', v. H., *JRAS*, 1942, 236 fn. 4; Man. B. *wyδβ'γ* 'explanation, preaching'; Chr. *wyθrb-* 'to worry', v. § 1279; *wyδrfš-* \*'to blaze', v. § 1033; B. *wyδ(γ)y-* 'to disappear', *Dhu 46. 204*; *Vim 100*, &c.; Chr. *wydymp*, B. *wyδ'ynp'h* 'lightning', v. § 972; B. *wyr'stk* 'opposite, contradictory' *ST ii 10, 18. 29. Dhy 214*; Chr. *wyrw[x]š-* 'to shine' *i 16, 8*; Man. Chr. B. *wyst'w* 'oath, promise'; Chr. B. *wyt'p-* 'to illuminate' *i 31, 11. Vim 118*; *wyř'w-* 'to endure' *M 133, 83*; *pw wyž'w* 'inextinguishable' *M 617 i 8*, cf. Parth. *wzwd*, Khot. *buysu-* (H.); on *wytr-* v. § 213 fn. 2.

217. (b) *wy-* naturally appears before vowels (*w(i)y-*): Chr. *wyus-* 'to dawn' *i 33, 11*, cf. Av. *viusaiti* (*Air. Wb.* 1394), *vyusq*; Man. *wyβ'r-*, B. *wy'β'r-* 'to talk', v. § 681.

218. (3) In the following the preverb only occurs as *w-* (apart from the Imperfect, v. § 625): B. *wβ'z* 'fathom', v. H., *JRAS*, 1942, 236; *wβ'stgy'h* 'narrative' *Sogd. 16, 18, wβ'sty* ib., p. 19 bottom; B. *wy'yr-* \*'to flow' *Dhu 39*; B. *wm'tyh* 'moha' *Vim 14*, B. *wm'ytk* 'stupid' *SCE 362*; Man. *wmrz-*, B. *wm'rz-*, Pres. stem, S. *wmršt-*, Man. *wmšt-* (cf. § 147), Past stem, 'to spoil'; Chr. *wryc-* 'to pour out' *i 36, 1*, *wryd'r-*, Trans. Pret., *ii 4, 33*; Man. *wryδ-* 'to mix'; Chr. *wsyrd'r-* 'to grasp' *i 81, 12*; Chr. *wsyd*, B. *ws'yδ* 'instigation', v. § 1109 fn.; Man. *wš't-* 'open' *Sogd. 16, 2*; B. *wš'krδ* *SCE 247* 'needle' or 'nail' (v. *SCE ii 61*, note 114); B. *wš'kpnuw* *Vim 24*, *wš'kpnyh* *P 2, 852* 'continent, mainland' (Weller); *wšn'm* 'ablution', v. *BBB* p. 61 on 515; B. *wy'rš-* 'to deliver', v. § 343; Man. *wxwn-* 'to call out, shout' *JRAS*, 1944, 143, 22, B. *wy'wnh*, v. *JRAS*, 1942, 97 sq., to which *Anc. Lett.* iv 8 'XRZY šw KL wxw'n wny 'then you may call it all in' (H.), should be added. On *wm't-* v. § 215.

219. (4) Both *w-* and *wy-* occur in the following cases: B. *wc'ytk*, *wc'wytik*, *wyc'ytk*, *wyc'wytik*, 'intelligent', v. *BBB* p. 62 on 516; *wc'rt* 'exact' *VJ 932*, B. *wyc'rt* *Vim 114*, Chr. *wycrt' ii 5, 25*; B. *wδβ'yt*, *wyδβ'yt*, 'distant', B. *wyδβ'y-* 'to extend', v. § 293; Man. *wδyr-*,

B. *wδ'yr-*, B. *wyδ'yr-*, 'to arrange, adjust', v. *Sogd. 62*, Past stem Man. *wδrt-* *M 483, 9. T i D*; Man. *wgyn-* *T ii D 139, 24* (being another copy of the same text as *M 178*, where the corresponding line (*i V 32*) has *wygn-*), S. *wk'yn-* *BBB* p. 102 on f 8, Man. *wygn-* [sic], § 706, 'to destroy', *wyg'n* 'destruction', cf. § 957; Man. *wjt-* 'harm, destruction',<sup>1</sup> *wyjt[k'ryy]* *M 549 i 11*, *'wyjtq'ryyh* (cf. § 161) *M 178 i R 23* 'evil-doer'; B. *wš'kyrtk* *Dhy 33*, *wyš'kyrt'y* *Dhy 102*, 'open (eyes)'. Cf. also § 213 fn. 2; on *wy'rt'tyy* v. § 215.

220. (5) The prefix *wi-*, and other initial *wi-* sometimes appear under the spelling *y-*, which, judging by the light stems *yk-n-*, *yrt-*, B. *yw'st-*, stands for *y-*; cf. also *yxwn-*, § 209. The only Imperfect attested of a verb with the prefix *y-*, is Man. *'yxw'y* 'he separated', *BBB* p. 97 on b 85, probably *iχwāi*. *y-* from *wi-* is perhaps the normal development before *-w-*.

This reduction has been treated by H., *BBB* p. 56 on 494, where *yk-n-* 'to dig' (light stem, cf. § 906, and *ykndyh*, 3 Sg. Pres., *M 118 ii V 6*), Chr. *yxwst-* 'to separate' (v. *BBB* p. 59 No. 3, cf. Man. *yxcwnng* 'discerning', § 48), Chr. *yrt-* 'wide' (v. §§ 138. 490. 518), B. *ywyš-* 'to keep aloof' *Dhy 189* (Past stem B. *yw'st-* (light stem): *kδ*... *yw'st* 'β' 'if he can keep aloof' *T iii 263 ii 29*), *yδ-* 'figure, shape', from *wiδ-* (v. *BBB* p. 93 on b 36), and *yp'k* 'anger', are mentioned.

Other examples are *yβ'r-* \*'to look after', v. § 890, *yw'r* 'mourn-separative', v. H., *JRAS*, 1944, 140 fn. 2, and B. *yw'tnyh* *Dhu 268* 'refreshment' (H.).<sup>1</sup> [*yw'r*, v. now H., *BSOAS*, xii 310.]

221. (v) *-wa-*, preceded by *r* or *χ* (*h*), becomes *u*.

(1) *rwa* becomes *ru*<sup>1</sup> in *rur* (*rura*) 'medicinal plant', from Av. *urvarā-*, cf. § 99; on *'rt't* from *harwatāt-* v. § 86 fn.

222. (2) *χwa* (*hwa*) becomes *χu*. *xwt'w* 'lord', from \**χwatāwan-*, was pronounced *χutāu*, cf. Man. *xt'w*, § 38, and *خدا*, § 133 fn.; S. *synw* 'speech, story' *T ii T 4*, indicates that B. *synuw* *VJ 182. 204. 426*, from *saxwan-*, stands for *sχun-*;<sup>1</sup> Chr. *xwšw* 'six', beside *خشون*, v. § 417 fn. 1.

For *xur-* 'to eat', from *χwar-*, *frnxwndyy* &c. (§ 1092), *plχwng*,

219<sup>1</sup> *cn wj(t)[r] pty'ryy T ii D 115, 13 sq.*, 'from harm and enmity' (?). *w(y)jt-* belongs, acc. to H., to Parth. MPers. *wzynd*, NPers. *گزند*.

220<sup>1</sup> However, B. *yw'nk* 'joint, articulation' *SCE 384*, connected by H. with Oss. *wāng*, Dig. \**iwong*, v. Miller-Freiman, *Oss. Wb.* iii 1288, goes back to the root Skt. *yu-* 'to unite, separate', cf. the Arm. *LW yavd* 'joint' (H.).

221<sup>1</sup> But *rui* is not contracted, cf. B. *'rw'st-* (*rwāst-*), § 116, and Chr. *'ruwš*, (*rwōxš*), §§ 158. 347.

222<sup>1</sup> Unless *synw* stands for *suxnu*, cf. § 417, which is less likely, since the metathesis of *sχu-* in *sux-* seems peculiar to Chr.

*yxwung* (§ 121), there is no evidence as to whether the pronunciation was *xu* or *xwa*. *xwa* has remained in Chr. *xw'rnē*, S. *γw'r'nt* adj., 'right hand', from the base *hwar*- 'to receive', v. Bailey, *Zor. Probl.* 73.

223. (vi) *huwa*- (viz. Av. *hva*- or *x'a*-, corresponding to Skt. *svā*- with a svarita accent) becomes *xū* (*xō*). This observation was made by H. It also applies to NPers. The examples are Man. *xwr*, B. *γwr* *VJ* 1262 'sun', beside the uncontracted B. *γwyr*, Chr. *xwyr* *ii* 2, 11, *xwyršny* 'East' *ii* 4, 6 (*xuwr*, heavy stem (cf. § 529), with *y* acc. to § 111), from OIr. *huwar*-, Skt. *svār* and *sūvar* (v. Wackernagel, *Altind. Grammatik*, i 201), cf. NPers. *hōr* (v. Hübschmann, *Pers. St.* 57), and Man. *xwp* 'good, skilful', from Av. *hwapah*-, Skt. *svāpas* (trisyllabic in the RV), cf. NPers. *xūb* (v. Horn, *Neupers. Etym.* 111).

224. (vii) *frn* 'luck', corresponding to Av. *x'armah*-, is not peculiar to Sogdian. Acc. to H., the word may be an old LW from Median. On the phonetic change of initial *xw*- (*hw*-) into *f*-, v. Bailey, *Zor. Probl.*, p. 1 fn. 3.

225. (viii) *xw* not before *a*. Of *xw* (*hw*) followed by vowels other than *a*, it may be generally said that it is preserved in interior position and, before *ā*, initially, while initial *xw*- (*hw*-) followed by a palatalized *ā* or by diphthongs, tends to be dissolved into *x* followed by a long vowel or diphthongs. There are, however, exceptions and doubtful words. A Sogdian final *-axw* becomes *-xu* or *-ux* (§ 236).

226. (1) *xw* remains *xw*.

(a) In interior position. "*xwyr*- (*āxwēr*-) 'to feed', from *\*ā-xwāraya*-, v. § 542; B. *'ptγw'r* 'carnivorous', v. § 170, and B. *y'tγw'r'k* 'meat-eating' *P* 2, 733; Chr. *ptṛq'n xw'r* 'heir', lit. 'receiver of the patrimony', v. Bailey, *Zor. Probl.* 73 fn. 3; *ptxw'y*- 'to kill', and forms with other preverbs (enumerated in BBB p. 58 sq.) from the Pres. stem *\*xwāy*-, from *\*xwāhaya*- (on its treatment when used without preverbs, v. § 233).

227. (b) In initial position.

(a) Before *ā*. *xw'r* 'sister', from Av. *x'wāhar*-, *xw't* 'weak', cf. § 417.

228. (β) Before *i* and palatalized *ā*.<sup>1</sup> B. *γwys*- 'to perspire', from Av. *x'wisa*-, v. § 539; Man. *xwyr*-, B. *γw'yr*- 'to feed', v. § 542.

229. (γ) In etymologically obscure words: *xwycq* 'open, loose', cf. § 976; *xwyc* and *xw'c* 'pain', v. § 1059.

<sup>228</sup> The preservation of *xw* here is not in agreement with §§ 230 sqq. *xwyr*- may be analogical to *\*xwyr*-, § 226; B. *γwys*- is attested only once, and may yet turn up in Man. as *\*xws*-.

230. (2) Initial *xw* is dissolved.

(a) *hwai*- becomes first *xwē*- (still attested in B. and Man., but no longer in Chr.), then *xū*- (*xō*). The example is

S. *γwystk* 'teacher' *SCE* 92. *T M* 389 a R 10, *γwystk* *Dhy* 13, *γwycšt* (v. § 286 fn.) 'chief' *Vim* 157, Comparative B. *γwyst* 'chief, superior' (substantive) *SCE* 97. 128, (adjective) *VJ* 48b. 273. 1352, (?) *βc'npdy γwyst*- 'lokajyestha' *ST* ii. *SCE*. *DN* 7. 74. 85, Man. *xwystrt*, Pl. Obl., 'presbyters' *Man. Lett.* ii 12. 13, *xw[y]št* *BBB* p. 12, *xwyst* *M* 871, 18, *xwynšt*- (v. § 342), against

Chr. *xwšty* 'teacher' *i* 8, 11. 13. *ii* 4, 15, Man. *xwštyy* *M* 483, 7, Comparative Chr. *xwštṛt* 'oi ἀρχοῦρες' *i* 50, 3, *xwštṛt dynd'r* 'high priests' *i* 17, 3, Man. *xwšt*- 'presbyter' *BBB* 611. *M* 129 R 5. *M* 778, 3.<sup>1</sup> From Av. *hwōišta*-, cf. Morgenstierne, *IIFL* ii p. 269 s.v. *xušči*.

231. (b) *xwai*- becomes *xē*-. Only example is *xypδ* 'own', cf. §§ 1391-6, from Av. *x'aēpaiθya*-. This word is apt to be treated in an irregular way, cf. Pašto *xpal*, *EVP* 96 sq., Šinyi *xobaθ*, v. Sköld, *Materialien*, 304.

232. (c) *xw*- + palatalized *ā*, become first *xwē*- (still attested in B.), then *xū*- (*xō*-). B. *γwyz*- (*xwēž*-), cf. § 188, Chr. *xwž*- and *γwž*-, v. § 57 fn., Man. *xwž*-, 'to wish', from *\*xwāzaya*-.

233. (d) Proto-Sogdian *xwāi*- from *\*xwāhaya*-, becomes *xāw*- in the Pres. stem for 'to beat', Man. *x'w*-, B. *γ'w*- and *γw'w*-,<sup>1</sup> cf. *BBB* p. 58 on 505. On its treatment with preverbs v. § 226.

234. (e) Etymologically obscure are Chr. *xwysm* (*xwēsm*), *ST* i, *xpsm* (*xūsm*, *xōsm*), *ST* ii, 'care, solicitude', and B. *γwyz'kw*, *γwyz'w*, 'very', v. Benv., *Notes* i 36 sq., Chr. *xwz* 'intensely' *ii* 3, 5. 6 (where the corresponding Syriac has 'to wish', not 'to wish a wish' (H.)).

235. (3) Initial *xw*- turns up as *p*- in Chr. *p'n* 'table', cf. MPers. *xw'n*, *BBB* p. 87 on 750.

236. (4) Words whose stem ends in *-axw*-, lose their endings. The final group *-axw* then becomes (*a*)*xu* or *ux*. Man. *fswx*, Chr. *fsx* (*fsux*), 'parasang', from *\*frasaxw*-, v. Markwart, *Gādhā uštavaitī*, p. 4 (on *fn's'x*, *fs'x*, and B. *'βs'nγ*-, v. § 435); Av. *a(w)hvā*:- 'wx' 'mind',

<sup>230</sup> The two forms also occur in Turkish *xyšty(h?) Türk. Man.* iii, p. 14, No. 7 ii V 8 (cf. Bang, *Muséon*, 36, p. 168, n. 1), *xyšty* ib. p. 12, No. 6 ii V 11. 19 (cf. Bang, *Muséon*, 44, p. 30). References by H.

<sup>233</sup> The B. spelling *γw'w*- is, acc. to H., analogical to *ptγw'y*-, *'nγw'y*-, &c.

v. § 11, *š'twx* 'happy (-minded)', from Sogdian *šāt+axw*, cf. *Anc. Lett.* ii 3 *š'tywx*;

237. OIr. *wahwi-*, Fem. of *wahu-* 'good': S. *\*rtixw βntk* (*artiχu-*), N. pr., *Anc. Lett.* ii 35, from *\*rtiwahwi-* (H.), S. *\*rtiγw*, *\*rtiγw*, N. of the 25th day, from Av. *ašōiš vanhuyā*, cf. H., *Orientalia*, viii 92, Man. *\*pwx*, *\*bwz*, N. of the 10th day, from Av. *āpō vanuhiš*.

### 238. Conspectus for OIr. *xw* (*hw*)

Old Iranian	Old Sogdian	Late Sogdian <sup>1</sup>
<i>xwa</i>		<i>χu</i> , 222 <i>fa</i> , 224
<i>huwa</i>	<i>χuwa</i>	<i>χū</i> , 223
<i>xwā</i>		<i>χwā</i> , 226. 227 <i>pā</i> , 235
<i>xwā . . y</i>	<i>χwē</i>	<i>χwē</i> , 226. 228 <i>χū</i> , 232
<i>xwā . . y</i>		<i>χwāy</i> , 226 <i>χāw</i> , 233
<i>xwai</i>	<i>χwē</i>	<i>χwē</i> , 230; <i>χū</i> , ib. <i>χē</i> , 231
<i>χwi</i> <i>aχw</i>	<i>χwi</i> , 228 (a) <i>χu</i>	<i>χu</i> , <i>uχ</i> , 236

239. (ix) After *d* and *z*, *w* becomes *v* (on OIr. *θw* v. §§ 293 sqq.).  
(1) After *d*. *δβr-* 'door', from *dwar-*; *δβtyk* 'second' (cf. § 430), from *\*dwitiyaka-*; *δβyš-* 'to hurt, torment', from *dwaiš-*; *γδβk*, an animal, *M* 130 i V 3 (out of context), if it belongs to Av. *γadwa-* 'bitch', and not to NPers. *γalbe* 'magpie' (H.).

240. (2) After *z*. Man. *zβ'k* 'tongue', from *\*hizwāka-*, v. § 93 (on Chr. *žb'q* v. § 378); Chr. *'zbr-* 'to cross', v. § 158 fn.

241. (x) *w* becomes *p* after *š* in *-kyšp-* from Av. *karšvar-*, v. § 147; cf. *-šp* from *-fš* in B. *'rδ'yšp*, § 441.

242. (xi) *w* is lost (cf. also § 231).

(1) In some forms from OIr. *baw-* 'to be', v. §§ 787-9.

243. (2) *χšwi* became *χšī*.<sup>1</sup> The examples are *xšyšt* 'milk' *BBB* e 18, from Av. *xšvīpta-*, cf. Morgenstierne *EVP* 72 sq., and, perhaps, Man. *'naxšyp-* 'to wriggle' *T* ii *D* 79 a 9 (reading not quite settled), from *\*χšwīp-*.

238<sup>1</sup> Some of the forms here attributed to an old stage of the language, survive, beside the more recent ones, down to the late Chr. texts.

243<sup>1</sup> In *xwšyp* 'whip', B. *'γwšyp-* 'squint-eyed', *w* was saved by a timely metathesis, v. § 416. On the treatment of *\*χšwāšam* 'six' v. § 417 fn. 1.

## k

244. (i) OIr. *k* is normally preserved as *k*. *kyr'n* 'direction', from *karan-*; *frkrnd-* 'to cut', from *frakrnt-*; *δβtyk* 'second', from *\*dwitiyaka-*; &c.

245. (ii) *k* becomes *g*.

(1) After *n* (cf. §§ 272. 304). *zng* 'sort, kind', from *\*zanaka-*, v. § 164; *pīxwng* 'murder', *yzwnng* 'discerning', from *\*χwahanaka-*, v. § 121; *'ngrnd-* 'to cut to pieces', from *hankrnta-*; *'ngyyp*, from *\*han-kāhrpa-*, v. § 141; *'ngs* 'cheek, face' *M* 142 V 4, from *kas-* 'to look'.

246. (2) Before *-yā* (cf. § 306) or in postvocalic position (cf. §§ 269. 305)? Man. *wβ'stgy'h* 'narrative' *Sogd.* 16, 18; *f'rštm'ng[y](?)h*, § 322, against frequent compounds with *'m'nky*, *'m'n'ky*; Chr. *nm'nqrgy* 'repentance', beside *nm'nyqrgy*, v. *BBB* p. 92 on b 25. All these are abstracts from *-aka-* stems, v. § 985. In view of the examples there quoted in fn., it seems preferable to read *fāraštmānagya*, rather than *-māngya*.

(3) In postvocalic position, in Chr. *γwžtg* (*γōžtaga*),<sup>1</sup> 2 Pl. Fut., 'to ask', i 75, 3.

(4) After *d*, in Chr. *γwtγ xwtg'r* 'alone', cf. § 269 fn.

247. (iii) *k* becomes *č*.

(1) Palatalized by a preceding *i* which afterwards usually disappears. B. *'r'ync* 'cubit' *Padm.* 28, from *\*araθnika-* (H.); *\*knc* 'girl',<sup>1</sup> from Av. *kainikā-*; B. *zm'wrc* 'ant' *SCE* 366, from *\*marwika-*, against B. *zm'wr'k*, id., P 2, 390, from *\*marwaka-* (cf. Skr. *vamrā*, *vamrakā*), v. § 380;<sup>2</sup> *wyc'w* 'witness', from *\*wi-kāw-*, v. Schaefer, *Ungarische Jahrbücher*, xv 568; Chr. *pcrw* (*pčaru*) 'instead of', from *\*pat-čaru*, from *\*pati-karam*, B. *pc'rt* 'because of', from *\*pat-čart*, from *\*pati-kart-*, v. § 674 fn. (H. compares the Arm. loanwords *patčarav* 'because of', *patčar* 'reason, cause' < *\*pati-čarana-*); B. *nyc* 'nostrils' *SCE* 85 (probably also Šinyi *něj*, &c., v. *IIFL* ii 403), from *\*nāhikā-*, cf. Skt. *nāsikā*,<sup>3</sup> the Fem. ending of *-aka-* stems, *-c(?)*, v. § 1271, from *\*-ikā-* (H.).<sup>4</sup>

246<sup>1</sup> Acc. to H., *BBB* p. 57 on 495, *γōždga*. The ending, however, should be *-ta (-da)*, v. § 738.

247<sup>1</sup> Attested are only *qncy*, Acc., *M* 760, 9; *kncy*, Gen., *M* 760, 21; *qncy* *T* i *D* 16 (out of context); cf. also the diminutive *qnck*, § 984.

247<sup>2</sup> In B. *mwysk-* 'fly', from *\*maxšika-*, cf. § 975, the palatalizing effect of *i* was checked by the consonantic group preceding it.

247<sup>3</sup> Meillet's explanation of *nyc* as from *\*nahya-č*, *BSL* xxiii 108, can hardly be considered satisfactory.

247<sup>4</sup> Acc. to Tedesco, *ZII* 4, 143, this Feminine ending goes back to the Gen. Fem. *-akayāh*. Tedesco thought of removing the difficulty of deriving from the

248. (2) Palatalized by a preceding *i* in *stryc* 'female', from \**stri-kā*-, and possibly in some words with the suffix -*yc*, v. § 1010 sq.

249. (3) Otherwise we have *č* from *k* in B. *crks* 'vulture', from Av. *kahrkāsa*-, v. H., *BSOS* viii 584, cf. § 139; *mrc* 'death', from Av. *mahrka*-, v. H., loc. cit., cf. § 489; perhaps Chr. *crzušt* 'wine-press', against Pahl. *karzōš*, v. H., *BSOS* x 97.<sup>1</sup>

250. (iv) *k* appears as *γ* in Man. *swynd* 'oath', against Chr. *swqnt*, v. *BBB* p. 94 on b 47, from Av. *saokanta*-, possibly influenced by MPers. *sōyand*.

251. (v) After the loss of all endings, the final *k* of \*-*aka*- and -*ākā*- stems disappeared, v. §§ 960 fn. 1. 971.

252. (vi) On the loss of *k* otherwise, v. §§ 463 sq. 472.

### g (Avestan g, γ)

253. (i) OIr. *g* generally becomes *γ*. It remains *g* only in direct contact with a preceding *n*, e.g. *sng* 'stone', from Av. *asənga*-, 'ngwšt' 'finger' *M* 142 V 7, from Av. *angušta*-. This does not seem to apply to secondary contact of initial *g* with the prefix *han*-, cf. 'nytyy' 'all, complete', from Av. *həngata* (v. § 335), 'nywn' 'similarly', from *həngawana*- (v. § 1113). Cf. §§ 283. 308.

254. (ii) In secondary contact with a following *t* or *š*, *g* becomes *χ*.

(1) *gt* becomes *χt*. By'n *βxtm* 'devātideva' *M* 370, 11 (Abl.), *vaxtam* from *bagatama*-, cf. §§ 164. 528; *c'twxt* 'how fast', v. § 1314, Elative of Man. *twy T ii D* 79, 1, 3. *T i D a*, B: *twy*, adv., *P* 3, 9. 14, cf. *Sogd.* p. 40 on 13.

Oblique a form usually employed in the Nom.-Acc., by assuming that the Nom.-Acc. ending -*akā(m)* had been generalized with substantives, the Oblique ending -*ač* with adjectives. This explanation does not hold, since the substantives concerned were stems in -*ākā*-, not in -*akā*-, v. § 971 fn. Moreover, it is by no means certain that *k* is palatalized in Sogdian by a following *y*; the abstracts in -*ky* of -*aka*- stems (v. § 985) do not support such an assumption; cf. also Sogdian *ky*-, § 1581, against Khot. *ce*, from *kahya*.

Henning's explanation is based on the fact that -*ikā*- is the ordinary Feminine of -*aka*- stems in Sanskrit (cf. Whitney, §§ 1181 c. 1222 i). It may be further supported by the Feminine of the light stem B. *murzk*- (v. § 151), if the form B. *murzk* (*mu'zka*, not \**mu'zka*), quoted § 522, is genuine, since this would show that the change from *k* to *č* depended on the vowel by which *k* was preceded.

The assumption of a Feminine ending -*ikā*- could be extended to Šiynī, where it might account for the Umlaut in the Fem. Past Part. (v. Geiger, *Gdr. Ir. Phil.* i<sup>3</sup> 313). It would have to be adopted also for Khotanese -*gya*.

249<sup>1</sup> On the other hand it is possible that we have Sogdian *k* against OIr. *č* in *qrtr M* 133, 18 (passions, v. § 1658), Pl. *qrtr T ii D* 139 i 3 (demons, v. § 1657), *krtrtyy Man. Lett.* i 5, 'insidious, cunning', against Arm. *čartar* 'skilful, cunning', cf. *Air. Wb.*, 582, s.v. *čartu-tāra*.

255. (2) *γš* becomes *χš*. *jwxsš*- 'disciple', from \**driguška*-, v. §§ 285. 410.

### X

256. (i) OIr. *χ* generally remains *χ*, except in the group *χt*, which becomes *γd*, v. § 273. *χ* also sometimes becomes *γ* before *z* (v. § 55) and after *r* (v. § 57). For *χw* v. conspectus § 238.

257. (ii) In Sogdian, as in Avestan (v. Bartholomae, *Gdr. Ir. Phil.* i 36, § 86), there are some examples of an unetymological *χ* inserted before *š*. *npχšt*-, Past stem of *npys*- 'to write', against OPers. *nipišta*-, 'spχšt' *M* 135 ii 64, B. 'spγšt' *SCE* 35, Past stem of Chr. *spš*- 'to serve', against Av. *spašta*-, *xwštr*- 'camel', from \**uxštra*- (v. § 517), against Av. *uštra*-, B. *ptrwχšty* 'obstructed', Past Part. from B. *ptrw'z*-, v. *JRAS*, 1942, 99; cf. also Chr. 'rwχš' 'bandage', Av. *urviχšna*-, § 347, and the forms *mχš* (*miχš*) and *wχšyn*, given by al-Beruni for *miš*, N. of the 16th day, and Man. *wšynny* 'Tuesday', v. *BBB* p. 85 sq.

### č

258. (i) Remains *č*: *čsm*- 'eye', from *čašman*-, *pnc* 'five', from *panča*; *pswc*- 'to purify', from \**saoča*-, &c.

259. (ii) *č* becomes *š* in secondary contact with a following *k*, *t*, *n* (on *čy* becoming *š* v. § 196).

(1) Before *k*. Man. 'yšktyh *T i D* 51, B. 'yšktyh, 'harem', from *inč* 'woman' + *kate* 'house', cf. § 339.

260. (2) Before *t*. Man. Chr. B. *s'št* 'oportet', from B. *s'ct*; *w'št M* 796 i 22, 3 Sg. Pres. from *w'c*- 'to let go'; Chr. *tššt* i 8, 7, 2 Pl. Impt. from \**tc*- 'to run, flee', v. *BBB* p. 62 on 516; *dyn'βr'št* 'electae' *Man. Lett.* i 20. 21, Pl. of *dyn'βr'nc*; *βypwryšt* 'divine virgins', Pl. of *βypwryc*, v. *BBB* p. 73; *stryšt*, Pl. of *stryc* 'female'; S. 'sp'ynšt *T ii D* 167 m V, Man. 'spnctt *M* 178 i V 4, Pl. from 'spnc 'rest-house, inn'; Man. *ny[w]š[k]č'štyy T ii D* 207, 22, Acc. Pl. from *nywš'k'nc* 'auditriz'; Chr. *tmp'r myšt*, Pl. of Man. *tmb'rmync* 'of the body', v. § 1103.

261. (3) Before *n*. *wššnyh* 'old, worn out', from *wššnyy*, from \**witačina*-, v. § 163, cf. *n'šnyh*, § 266.

262. (iii) A Sogdian *č* has developed from

*k*, §§ 247-9

*š*, § 286.

*t*, § 275 sq.

*šč*, § 288.

*tr*, § 278; *tr*, § 277

*šč* (*šč*), §§ 372. 382.

On the treatment of *šč* in *pasča* v. § 373. On an inorganic *c* in B. texts v. § 286 fn.



## j (ž)

263. (i) OIr. *j* (ž) appears in Sogdian as *ž* (spelled Man. *j*, Chr. *ž*, B. *z*, *z*), except after *n*, where in Man. we find either *c*, or *c* alternating with *j*, hence pronounced *j*, cf. § 70.<sup>1 2</sup>

264. (1) Sogdian *ž*. *jw-* (žuw-) 'to live', cf. § 574; *jn-* 'to strike' *M* 135 i 41, S. *zn-* *P* 13, 11, from *jan-*; *nyjy-* 'to go out', from OPers. *nižaya-*, cf. § 568; *βj'w-* 'to add', from OPers. *abižāvaya-*, cf. § 571; *j(n)uwq* 'knee' *Sogd.* 49, 8, from Av. *žnu-*; Man. *jn'*, B. *zn'kh* and *zn'kh* (*Vim* 66), 'knowledge', *βj(n'h)* 'mark, sign' *Sogd.* 48, 1, from \**žnā-*, cf. Av. *xšnā-*, &c.

265. (2) Sogdian *j*. *'njmn*, *'ncmn*, 'assembly' (§ 67), from Av. *hamjamana-*; *pδδync-* 'to pull' (§ 70), from *θanj-*.

266. (ii) *žd* becomes *ž* (cf. *zd* becoming *ž*, § 379): *kōž*, in B. *šwnkkwz'k* 'au chignon conchoïde' *Dhy* 180, from Av. *kaožda-* in *ašta.kaožda-*.

(iii) *ž* becomes *š* in secondary contact with a following *n*: *n'šnyh* *cxryy* 'a turning wheel' *M* 178 ii V 15 sq., from \**nāžina-* (cf. Man. *wšnyh*, § 261), cf. Man. *n'j-* 'to turn round', § 1068 (H.).

(iv) On *ž* becoming *š* by assimilation v. § 452.

## t

267. (i) OIr. *t* normally appears as *t*. *tm-* 'hell', from Av. *tamah-*; *mrtiy* 'man', from *martiya-*; *w't* 'wind', from *wāta-*; *wpt-* 'to fall' *T* ii B R 2, from *awa-pata-*; &c.

268. (ii) Instead of, or alternating with, *t* from OIr. *t*, some words have Man. *š*, Chr. *d*, in postvocalic position or after *r*. This presumably indicates a pronunciation *d*, cf. *d* from *t* in Khwār. and Oss. (Miller, *Gdr. Ir. Phil.* i Anh. 30), v. *BBB* p. 57 on 495, and above, § 59.

269. (1) In postvocalic position (cf. §§ 246. 305). Man. *kδ'm*, *kt'm*, B. *kt'()**m*, Chr. *qd'm*, 'which?', 'whichever', from Av. *katāma-*; Man. B. *'yδ*, Chr. *yd*, from Av. *aēta-*, v. § 1500; Man. *pt'šδty* 'joy' *T* ii D 163 b i 4. *T* ii D 207, 16, from \**pati-šāta-* + Sogdian suffix *-ty* (§ 1070), beside *š'twx* 'happy', B. *š't* 'rich'; *msydr* 'presbyter', Chr. *msydrd*, Pl., v. § 1298; Chr. *xwdw* ii, from *xwt'w*; Chr. *xwdy* 'self' ii 1, 37, from *xwt'y*; Chr. *'mpd-* i 3, 4, B. *'npt-* *SCE*, 'to fall', from *ham-pata-*; loan-words are possibly *xšyδ*, *'xšyδ* 'lord', from Av. *xšaēta-*, and

263<sup>1</sup> Difficult to explain is the presence of *c* instead of expected *z*, in S. *w'c'yδ'nt*, 3 Pl. Impf. (*MN* 'sp' *w'c'yδ'nt* *pr yurt nyδ'nt* 'they dismounted from their horses and sat down for a meal' *T* i a i 9 sq.), corresponding to the Man. Pres. stem *'wjyδ-* (§ 376; cf. also § 483).

263<sup>2</sup> A *c* standing for *č* or *j* is also found in B. *'šcy'n'k*, the form of transition between OIr. \**arjyan-* (\**rjyan-*) and Man. *'yjn* 'worthy', cf. §§ 155. 383.

*n'xyδ*, N. of the planet Venus, from *anāhitā-*; cf. also B. *k'wδ'm'* *DN* 53. 57, beside *k'w'p'm'* *DN* 12. 19. 23, &c., from Skt. *Gotama*.<sup>1</sup>

270. (2) After *r*. Chr. *msydrd*, Pl., v. § 1298; Chr. *mrdxmy* 'man' ii.

271. (iii) Apart from the preceding cases, *t* becomes *d* in primary and secondary contact with a preceding *n*, as well as in the groups *xt*, *ft*.

272. (1) After *n* (cf. §§ 245. 304). Man. *'ndrykt* 'eunuchs', from *antar*, v. § 995; *kundyy* 'he does', from *kwn-* + ending *-ti*; *w'crnd*, from *w'crn* 'road' + Pl. ending *-ti*; &c.

273. (2) OIr. *xt* becomes *γd* (spelled *γt*), v. Tedesco, *BSL* xxiii 112 sq., and above, § 51. Examples are the OIr. Past Participles in *-xta-*. On the Past stems with secondary *-xt-* v. § 56.

274. (3) OIr. *ft* becomes *vd* (spelled *βt*), v. Tedesco, loc. cit., and § 51. Examples are the OIr. Past Participles in *-fta-*, and *'βt()* 'seven' (§ 1316), from \**hafta*. In the Past Partc. *wfity* *M* 137 V 12, Chr. *'wfc*, Fem., ii 5, 26, 'woven', *f* is due to the influence of the Pres. stem *w'f-* (quoted by H., *JRAS*, 1942, 232 fn. 6), cf. Yidgha *waft* against *γarivd*, Morgenstierne, *IIFL* ii 157, and above, § 56.

275. (iv) Under unexplored conditions, *t* (θ) followed by *i* (y) becomes *č*, cf. *BBB* p. 96 on b 78. Beside forms with such a *č(i)*, the older ones with *t(i)* are often preserved.

(1) OIr. *ti* (θy) becomes *č(i)*. The preverb *pati-* appears as *pt-* and as *pc-* (v. §§ 671 sqq.), cf. H., *BSOS* viii 587; the ending of OIr. *asti* 'he is' appears as *-ti* in *'sty* (§ 762), but as *-či* in *xcy* (§ 770, cf. Benv., *Grammaire*, 200) and, perhaps, in *'ycy* (§ 775), cf. § 372; Av. *paršti-* becomes S. *prch*, subst., 'back', Chr. *prcy*, postposition, 'after', Man. *prcy*, adv., 'behind, slow' *M* 430, 3. *M* 796 i, 15, cf. *BBB* p. 62 on 517; verbal nouns in *-ti-*, cf. *fr'wycyh* 'forgetfulness', from \**frāmušti-* (§§ 382. 1007), *xryc* 'buying', from \**χriti-* (§ 1002), Chr. *'qc* from *krti-* (§ 1002), against *'kty* (§ 948).

276. (2) Secondary *ti* also becomes *či* in *δšcyy*, Name of the 8th day, cf. § 402.

277. (v) Initial *tr-* has become *čə-* (cf. § 150) in *cf-* 'to steal' *M* 133, 11, B. *cβ-*, from *trp-*, cf. Morgenstierne, *IIFL* ii 256\*, in B. *cšn* 'thirst' (§ 386), *cš'y-* 'to be thirsty' *SCE* 29, *cš'ntk* 'thirsty' (§ 1068), from \**trš-*, and, acc. to H., in B. (?) *cštyh* 'terror' *P* 2, 785, *P* 6, 12, < \**tršti-* (Av. *taršti-*), cf. Parth. *tyšt*, v. § 948 on the ending.

269<sup>1</sup> Of uncertain origin is *xwδk'r* 'alone' *M* 896, 12, B. *γwδk'r(y)* *SCE* 27. 328, Chr. *γwty xwty'r* i 75, 20 (cf. § 246), *γwty xwdq'r* i 37, 22, *xwdq'r* ii 1, 71, v. § 1336 fn. [Cf. Khot. *hwač* *hwač*, *hwa hwa* 'severally'.]

278. (vi) *štr* became *šč* in *zrušč* 'Zoroaster', from \**zarahuštr*, v. § 399, and, perhaps, in B. *muškyšč*, from \**mūš-kuštr*, v. § 382 fn. 1.

279. (vii) The Sogdian group *tδ* has become *θ* in the Trans. Pret. *kθār* 'to do, make', from *akt(u)ār*-, cf. § 167. It is not known whether this also happened with some other Trans. Preterites or not, cf. § 457 fn.

280. (viii) Final *t* after vowels was lost, as in OPers., in the endings of the Abl. Sg. (§§ 1179. 1199), of the 3 Sg. Opt. (§ 713), and of the 3 Sg. Impf. (§ 712).

281. (ix) Otherwise *t* is sometimes lost before *δ* (§ 457), *θ* (§ 456), *s* (§ 461 sq.).

(x) On *t* becoming *p* by dissimilation v. § 470.

## d

282. (i) OIr. *d* generally becomes Sogdian *δ*. *δ'm* 'world, creation', from *dāman*-; *δm'n* 'dwelling place' (§ 466 fn.), from Av. *dāmāna*-; *myδ'n* 'middle', from *maḍyāna*-; *wrδ* 'rose', from *warda*-; &c.

283. (ii) *d* remains *d* (spelled *d*, *t*, or *dt*, cf. §§ 45 sqq.):

(1) In primary contact with a preceding *n*. *βndyh* 'servant', from *bandaka*-; B. *'nt* 'blind' *Dhy* 84, from Av. *anda*-. After the prefix *han*-, only *δ* is found (cf. §§ 253. 308), cf. *'ndysn* 'reflection', from \**han-daisana*-, *'ndmyy* 'limb', from Av. *han-dāman*-, &c. In compound-Sandhi, both *δ* and *d* are found, cf. *δynd'r* 'electus', *δynt'ry* 'monkship' *M* 116 R 3.

284. (2) In contact with a preceding *z* (on *zd* becoming *ž* v. § 379), cf. § 309. *'ztyw* 'exiled', from *uzdahyu*- (§ 97); *xwrmzr*, from *ahura-mazdāh*-; *'mzt'yzn*, v. H., *JRAS*, 1942, 240 fn. 3, from \**mazdayazna*-; Chr. *'zd'gry*, ii 3, 42, B. *'zt*, 'announcement', from *azdā*, cf. Tedesco, *BSL* xxiii 112 (on Chr. *'yzt* cf. § 84). Cf. also the LW S. (?) *yzt*(?) *ys* 'idol', from Parth. \**zdys*, § 104.

285. (iii) *dr* becomes *ž* (on *dr* becoming *rδ* v. § 439). The historical spelling *δr* is frequent in B. texts. Cf. Rosenberg, *Izv.*, 1920, 415 sq.; Tedesco, *ZII* iv 113; Benv., *MSL* xxiii 126; Hansen, *ZII* vii 89.

Man. *jwxšg*- *M* 655, 11. *T ii D* 62, 17. *T ii D* 66, 1, 3, Chr. *žwxšg*-, B. *zywšk*- *Dhu* 207, *δrywšk*- *Vim* 71, 'disciple', from \**driguška*-, v. §§ 255. 410, cf. NPers. *darviš* (Rosenberg, loc. cit., and *apud* Benv., loc. cit.); *jwk* 'sound, complete', B. *δr'wk* in *δr'wk cšm'y* 'with sound eyes' *Dhy* 337,<sup>1</sup> *Anc. Lett.* *δrwk*, from \**druwaka*- (Benv., loc. cit.);

285<sup>1</sup> The meaning of this compound, as suggested by Reichelt, *ad locum*, and Benv., *Notes* ii 236, has been confirmed by Weller in his discussion of the corresponding Chinese passage (*Monumenta Serica*, vol. iii (1938), p. 118 with

*jym*' (v. prec. fn.), Chr. *žym*' ii 1, 27, B. *δrymh*, 'lie', B. *δryw'nk'r'k* 'liar' (§ 1126), from *drug*-; Man. *j'm M* 135 ii 36, B. *z'm DN* 24. *Frg.* iii 63. 77. 78, *Doc.* x 20 (Reichelt, ii 58), 'delicate, fine, thin, polite', from \**drām* = MPers. *dārm-ak* (cf. *šārs*: *šrās*-) 'fine', v. Bailey, *JRAS*, 1934, 512 (H.);<sup>2</sup> Man. *jyt*-, B. *δryt*-, Past stem, 'to hold' (Hansen, loc. cit.); Man. *j'y*-, Chr. *ž'y*-, 'to talk', MPers. *drāy*-, v. *BBB* p. 126 b;<sup>3</sup> &c.

286. (iv) *δ* from *d* becomes *č* in secondary contact with *š*. The example is *duš*-, when reduced to *δš*-. (cf. § 173): B. *cštw'n* 'poor', against B. *δštwn*-, Chr. *dyštwn*-, from *duštuwān*-, v. Bailey, *BSOS* vi 67, who compares Arm. *tš*- from *duš*-;<sup>1</sup> B. *cštwcyh*, Obl., 'poverty' *P* 2, 243, against Man. *δšt'wc*, *dyšt'wc* (§ 1080); *ckšt*-'ugly' (v. § 1089), from \**duš-ka(r)šta*-, cf. *k(r)šn* 'form' (Benv., *Notes* iv 513, and H., *Tales* 470 n. 1), and Parth. *dwrcyhr* 'ugly'.

287. (v) *d* (*δ*) + *ž* in secondary contact coalesce into *j*. Chr. *žy'wr ST* i, against Man. *δrjy'wr M* 133, 17, B. *δrz'ywr* [sic] *P* 2, 106, 'heart' (*jyāwar*, from *δažyāwar*, from *δržya*-, cf. §§ 148. 173. 182. 1119); *jkryy* 'sinful', from \**džkare*, from \**duž-karaka*-, v. *BBB* p. 69 on 555.

288. (vi) *δč* becomes *č* in Man. *'c*, from B. *'δcw*, v. § 1564.

289. (vii) On *t* instead of expected *δ* in *δw'ts* '12', *pnc'ts*-'15', v. § 1321.

On *δ* lost before *s* v. § 459.

On *d* lost before *z* v. § 454, before *s* v. § 460.

On *tδ* becoming *θ* v. § 279; on *θδ* becoming *θ* v. § 455.

On *žd* becoming *ž* v. § 266; on *zd* becoming *ž* v. § 379.

290. (viii) An unetymological *d* is sometimes inserted after *n* before *č*, *ž*, or *ya*. Cf. H., *BBB* p. 75 on 606.

(1) Before *č*, *ž*: Man. *'yjndyy* (-*aka*- stem) 'worthy' *M* 483, 8, Chr. *'yžnt'y* i 59, 19, *'yžndy* ii 2, 23, against Man. *'yjn BBB* b 42. f 78, Chr. *'yžn* ii 6, 47, Pl. Man. *'yjnd M* 617 i 17, abstract Man. *'yjn'wyy T* i *D*, v. § 155; *skpwndy* \*'scammonia', against NPers. *saqmūniyā*, cf. § 352.

fn. 166), while Man. *šwk'cšmyy*, in the passage referred to in *BBB* p. 65 fn. 1, seems to have a disparaging meaning: *n' wδ' ptyjmyy 'y šwk'cšmyy 'tyh xypδ βr't pr jym* n' *wz'm* 'do not be quarrelsome (cf. § 200 fn. 1) and insolent, and do not condemn your brother with lies'. H. now abandons his connexion of *šwk*- with B. *δr'wk*, and compares Pers. شوخ (with some suffix before which *k* > *x*).

285<sup>2</sup> Differently Benv., *Notes* iii 231.

285<sup>3</sup> Differently Morgenstierne, *NTS* vii 116 sqq.

286<sup>1</sup> The *c*- of *cštw'n*, which was hardly articulated, explains, acc. to H., the B. spellings (?) *cšty*-'third' (§§ 1331. 1337) and *ywycšt* 'chief' (§ 230). H. would attribute the same reason to the *c* of B. *cškw*-'tear' (cf. §§ 371. 385 fn.).

291. (2) Before *ya*: *ǰyštrw'ndy* 'ill-will', against *rw'n* 'soul'; *pr'm'ndy* 'forgiveness' *Sogd.* 16, 3, against *pw pr'm'n* *Sogd.* 16, 6, cf. *BBB* p. 75; B. *nym'ntyh* 'contempt', abstract from B. *nym'n* (§ 1033), v. *BBB* p. 92 on b 25; *ptzm'ndy* 'loathing' *T ii D* 66, 2, 21, B. *ptzm'ntyh*, v. Rosenberg, *Izv.*, 1927, 1398, against B. *'pw ptzm'n* 'insatiable' *SCE* 460.

## θ

292. (i) OIr. *θ* remains *θ*. *pδδync* 'to pull' (§ 600), from *θanǰaya*; *ǰ'δwk* 'throne', from *\*gāθu-ka*; *srδnng* 'chief', = MPers. *srhng*, cf. *BBB* p. 91 bottom; *p'rδ* 'watch', from *pāθra*, *Sogd.* 25, 21; Chr. *r'θ* 'road', cf. NPers. *rāh*; Chr. *šqwrθy* 'difficulty', from *škauθi*-, cf. § 361; Chr. *xypθ* 'own', from Av. *x'aēpaθya*-.  
 293. (ii) OIr. *θw* turns up in various spellings.

(1) Man. B. *δβ* (= *θv*). *\*δβ(θ)y* 'to extend, scatter', in S. *prδβ'y't δ'rt* 'he diffused (the religion)' *T M* 389 a R 35, B. *wyδβ'y* 'to extend' *Dhy* 92, B. *wδβ'yt* *VJ* 187. &c., *wyδβ'yt* *VJ* 739. 38°, 'distant', Man. *δyβ'tyy* (*θivde*, v. § 431), Past Partc., 'scattered' *M* 134 i V 12, B. *'nδβy* 'to develop' *P* 2, 361, which H. connects with Av. *θwaya*-, cf. Av. *θwayastama* 'most distant [sic]'; *δβxšt* *Sogd.* 16, 5, B. *δβ'γšt* *VJ* 241. 243, Past stem, 'to collect, acquire', from Av. *θwaxš*-, v. H., *BSOS* x 105 n. 3; S. *pδβyr*-, *'pδβyr*-, 'to hasten' (Trans.), *pδβ'r* 'haste', from *\*upa-θwar*-, v. *BBB* p. 59 sq.; B. *rypδβh* 'noon' *Dhu* 209, from *rapiθwā* (Reichelt, *ad locum*).

294. (2) Man. *δf*, in *pδf'rβγγy*, N. of a god, cf. *pδβ'r* above, and H., loc. cit., perhaps under the influence of the Parth. spelling, which should be *\*pδf'r*.

295. (3) *tf*, after *č*, in *ctf'r* 'four' (*čtfār*), cf. § 173.

296. (4) Chr. *tf*, *tb* (= *tv*), in initial position. *tfyž* ii 6, 31, and *tbyž* i, Pres. stem, 'to collect', v. H., *Sogd.* p. 32 on 4.<sup>1</sup>

297. (5) *f*, in the enclitic pronoun of the 2nd person, Man. *-f(y)*, § 1355 sq., cf. Av. *-θwā*, v. H., *ZDMG* 90, \*32\*.

298. (6) *š*, in Man. B. *pš(θ)βr* 'provisions', from Av. *piθwā*-, and Man. *γyšyp*, Chr. *γšyp*, 'damage', from S. *(γyδβp)* in the *Anc. Lett.*, v. *BBB* p. 63 on 523. *šyδnp = Hng*

299. (iii) OIr. *θr*, unless turning into *rθ* (cf. § 440; on *anθr* v. § 346), becomes *š*, beside which the older *δr* is frequently attested in Sogdian script, occasionally also in Manichean. Cf. Andreas, *apud* F. W. K.

296<sup>1</sup> Where the *ST ii* form should be read *tfyž*-, viz. both *ST i* and *ST ii* have initial *t*, not *θ*.

Müller, *Uigurica* (APAW, 1908), p. 3, n. 3. *štyk* 'third', from *θritiya*-, *myš*-, passim, against *myδr* *M* 118 i R 8, from *miθra*-, *wš'nyy*, from Av. *vəraθrayna*-, *np'yšn* 'grandson' *M* 134 i V 5, S. *np'yšnt*, Pl., *T ii D* 11, cf. § 943; *'š*, N. of the 9th day, from *āθr*-, cf. H., *Orientalia*, viii 91 fn. 2, B. *'š'kw* 'ashes', from *\*āθraka*-, v. Benv., *Notes* ii 244; Man. *γwšt*, Pl., 'metals', from *gaθra*-, v. *Sogd.* p. 20 on 21; B. *'nyš* 'elsewhere' *VJ* 1230, *nyš* 'on the other hand' *Dhy* 272, from *\*anyθra*-, cf. Skt. *anyatra* (cf. *wysp'rδyy*, § 440); *xšywr*, N. of the 4th day, from *\*xšabrawarya* (cf. § 171), against B. *γšδrkt'k* from *M(?)xšyδ-p* *t* Av. *xšabro.karata* (v. *JRAS*, 1942, 97); perhaps *wš* from *\*wiθra*, cf. *βx*-'splendid' Av. *ōiθra*, in *'yw wšyy* 'alone, single' *Sogd.* 24, 9, B. *wš'wš* 'one by one' *Dhu* 22, Man. *wšwšyt*, Pl., 'various', *Sogd.* p. 25 on 9, *wšp't* *\*autrefois* (?) *M* 127 R 11; &c. [*nyš*, cf. now Benv. *VJ* p. 92. V. Add.].

300. (iv) *θ* was dropped before *n* in *δβ'mbn* 'lady, wife', from Av. *dāmānō.pāθni*-, v. Meillet, *BSL* xxiii 103 (cf. also §§ 304. 449. 453. 466), in *pn'nc* 'co-wife', v. § 1046, and in B. *'r'ync* 'cubit', v. § 247.

301 (v) *θ* becomes *t*.

(1) Before *s*, in Man. B. *mrts'r*, B. *'wrt's'r*, v. § 461, and in B. *kwrt's'r*, from *kwrtδ*, v. §§ 440. 1534.

(2) Before *š*, in *datš*, N. of the 15th day, from *\*daθš*, v. § 443.

302. (3) After *δ*, in Man. *ptwyδt*, 2 Pl. Impt., 'to hand over', *patwēdt* from *\*patwēδθ*, v. *BBB* p. 104 on f 53-4.

(vi) *θi* became *š* in B. *γr'nš* 'tie', from *\*granθi*-, v. *BBB* p. 63 on 523.

## p

303. (i) *p* normally remains *p*. *ptr* 'father', from *p(i)tar*-, *npys* 'to write', from *\*ni-paisa*-, *'sp* 'horse', from *aspa*-, &c.

304. (ii) *p* becomes *b*.

(1) In contact with a preceding *m* (*n*), cf. §§ 245. 272. *δβ'mbn*, *δβ'mpn*, 'lady, wife', v. § 300; *tmb'r* 'body', v. § 449; *'mbyr* 'to fill', v. § 544; Chr. *'mpd* 'to fall' (*ambad*-), from *ham-pata*-.  
 On the loss of *b* from *p* in this position, v. § 453.

305. (2) In postvocalic position (cf. §§ 246. 269). Chr. *'b* 'water' ii 3, 26, otherwise Chr. *'p*, Man. B. *'p*; Man. *'bwx*, beside *'pwx*, N. of the 10th day, cf. § 236; cf. also the LW B. *'wβ's'k*, Fem. *'wβ's'nch*, 'lay-monk, lay-nun', *P* 7, 127 sq., beside *'wp's'k*, *'wp's'nch*, *DN* 4, from Skt. *upāsaka*.

306. (3) Before *yā* (cf. § 246), in Man. *by'mnwrz*, N. pr., *Mahrnāmag* 100, connected by H. with Man. *py'm* 'to heal' (cf. § 582).

(iii) On the dissimilation in *ptfs* 'to read' v. § 468.

## b

307. (i) OIr. *b* normally becomes *v*, spelled  $\beta$ .  $\beta\gamma$ - 'god', from *baga*-;  $\beta r't$  'brother', from *brātar*-; *ptβst*-, Past stem, 'to join, connect', from *patibasta*-.

308. (ii) *b* remains *b*:

(1) In primary contact with a preceding *m*: *kmbyy* 'less, wanting', from *\*kambiyah*-, v. § 1302. After the prefix *ham*-, *v* alone is found, cf. Chr. *'mbrz*, Man. *'nβrz*, 'reception', § 655. Cf. §§ 253. 283.

309. (2) After *z* (which became *ž*, v. § 377), in Man. *wjp*-, Chr. *'wžb*-, 'terror' (§ 43 fn.), from Av. *azōbā*-. Cf. § 284.

310. (iii) *b* became *m*, in Chr. *\*mr'w* 'crying', from *\*brāma*-, v. § 351.

(iv) On the loss of *b* after *m* v. § 453.

## f

311. (i) Remains, generally, *f*. *fry*- 'dear', from *friya*-; *fšy'ws* 'gentleman' *M* 135 i 18, B. *'βšy'ws* 'superior' *Dhu* 273. *VJ* 1495, from Av. *fšuyqs* (H.), cf. § 429; Man. Chr. *n'f*, B. *n'β*, 'people', from Av. *nāfa*-; Man. *wfr*- 'snow', from Av. *vafra*-; &c.

312. (ii) *fn*.

(1) Becomes *vn*. Man. *xwβn*- 'sleep, dream' *T ii D* 79 d 5, from Av. *x'afna*-, cf. Yidgha *xūvan*, *IIFL* ii 67.

313. (2) Becomes *m*, in Man. Chr. *xš'm* 'evening' *M* 399, 4 (v. § 911). *ST* i 81, 7, from Av. *xšāfnyā*-, cf. Parth. *š'm*, and v. Tedesco, *ZII* ii 41.

(iii) *ft* becomes *vd*, v. § 274.

314. (iv) *fš*.<sup>1</sup>

(1) Remains *fš* in *fšy'ws*, § 311.

(2) Becomes *šf*- and *-šp* (cf. § 241), v. § 441.

(3) Becomes *xš* in Chr. *xwšp'ny* 'shepherd' i 22, 21, from *\*xšupāne*, from *\*fšupānaka*-, cf. Khot. *kšundaa*-, *kšarma*- (Bailey, *BSOS* viii 128. ix 75), and conversely, *'fšyn*, title of the kings of Ustrūšana (Barthold, *Turkestan*, passim), from *xšēwan* (H.).

315. (v) Initial *fra*- became *fa*- before *s*, *š*, *t*, *r*, *n*, perhaps *yā*; cf. Khot. *ha*- from *fra*-, v. Hansen, *OLZ*, 1935, 350 sqq. *fa*- was frequently further reduced to *f*-, v. §§ 169. 178. [v. Addenda.]

316. (1) Before *s*. *fs'c*-/ *fsyt*-, B. *'βs''c*-/ *'βs'yt*-, 'to teach', cf. *BBB* p. 68 fn. 2, from *\*fra-sāca(ya)*-; Man. *fswx*, *fs'x*, B. *'βs'ny*, 'parasang',

314<sup>1</sup> In B. *'štnh* 'breast' *VJ* 6a. 1028, Sogdian agrees with Skt. *stana*, against Av. *fšāna*-, NPers. *pistān*, cf. Meillet, *BSL* xxiii 106.

from *\*frasaxw*- (§ 236), *\*frasānxa*- (§ 435); Man. *fsn*[y]- 'to swim' or 'to bathe', *Sogd.* 31, 18, < *\*fra-snāya*-, cf. Khot. *haysnāta*-, Hansen, loc. cit., 351; *fsp* (*faspā*) 'rafter' or 'wall' (H.), *M* 178 ii R 10, from *\*fraspā*+*x*- (for the meaning cf. MPers. *prysp*, for the preverb Av. *fraspāt*-, NPers. *farasp*); Chr. *fswyt*-, Past stem, 'to sacrifice' i 80, 5, from *\*fra-suxta*-; cf. also *fcmbδ*, § 372 [v. Addenda].

317. (2) Before *š*. *fšt*-, Past stem, 'to ask', from *\*frašta*-; Chr. *fš'm*-/ Man. *fšmt*- (§ 583), 'to send', from *\*fra-šāma*-, cf. H., *Sogd.* p. 24 top, v. also § 178; *\*fšn*[s]- 'to recognize' *Sogd.* 31, 9, from *\*fra-(x)šnāsa*-, v. H., *ad locum*; probably also *fškr*- (§ 178), B. *'βškr*-, 'to expel', cf. *BBB* p. 74 on 604, and *fšqwxšt*- 'to press into' (§ 56).

318. (3) Before *t*. Man. Chr. *ftm*-, Man. *'ftm*-, S. *'βtm*-, B. (?) *prtm*- (historical spelling), 'first' (v. § 1331), from *fratama*-; Man. *ft'r* *BBB* 528, *ft'r* *M* 483, 7, Chr. *ft'r* i 34, 5,<sup>1</sup> '(too) many, (too) much', lit. 'overstepping, superabundant', from *\*tar*+*fra*-, cf. (for the form) Skt. *pratāra*; Chr. *ftm'd'r*-, Pret., 'to blow' i 78, 9, from *fra*+*\*dmā*- (on the *t* cf. § 471), cf. Skt. *pradhāmā*-, and B. *šm's't* *P* 7, 61 \*'blown up, swollen' (H.), Participle from the Inchoative; Man. *fty'r*-, *ft'r*-, B. *'βt'yr*-, Pres. stem (§ 178), from *\*fra-trya*-, cf. § 185, Man. *'ftrt*-, *ftrt*-, Past stem (§ 169); Chr. *ftypd'r*-, Pret., 'to shine' ii 3, 72, from *fra-tāpaya*-.<sup>2</sup> On *frtr* v. § 437.

319. (4) Before *r*. Chr. *fryž*- 'to direct' i 31, 14, B. *fr'yž*- 'to erect' *Dhy* 84, *frēž*- from *\*farāzaya*-, Past stem B. *fr'št*- (*frašt*-) *Dhy* 26, from *\*fra-rašta*-;<sup>1</sup> Man. *fruwq* 'flash, brightness', *Sogd.* 29, 3, from *\*fra-rauka*-, cf. Khot. *haruṇa* 'resplendent' from *\*fra-rauxšnya*-, Hansen, loc. cit. 352 fn. 1; cf. also S. *βwrδmy* 'vegetation', § 415.

320. (5) Before *n*. Chr. *fn*'s 'deceit' ii 4, 11, 'ignorance, deception' ii 2, 22, B. *βn*'s 'slander' *DN* 34, Chr. *fnyšt*-, Past stem, 'to deceive' ii 4, 43. 5, 39;<sup>1</sup> perhaps *fny*- 'to repudiate, exclude', v. *BBB* p. 102 on f 15, 18 [B. *βrny*-, cf. Benv., *TSP* 205 on 115].

321. (6) Before *yā* (?). Man. Chr. *fy'tr*, B. *'βy*(?)*tr* (*afyātar*) 'more', from *\*frayāh*- (H.). Not certain, in view of *fry'tr*, cf. § 1291, and *fry'm*- \*'to finish', v. § 647.

322. (vi) Owing to the scarcity of examples, it is not clear whether initial *frā*- becomes *fā*- when followed by the consonants which

318<sup>1</sup> Not attested in Sogdian writing.

318<sup>2</sup> But also Chr. *frtyp*-, Pres. stem, i 65, 6, if Henning's emendation (*BBB* p. 84 on 717) is correct.

319<sup>1</sup> The etymology of Man. *fršt*-, Past stem, 'to act', v. *BBB* p. 98 on c 37, is not known [poss. *frqšta*-, *qs*- (H)]; the meaning of *fršt'h* *βwł* (§ 884) is uncertain.

320<sup>1</sup> The translation 'to lose, corrupt; corruption' in *ST* ii, is incorrect.

affect *fra-* (§ 315). In Khotanese, *hā-* from *frā-* corresponds to *ha-* from *fra-*, cf. *hāmura-* 'forgetting', Hansen, loc. cit. For Sogdian one might quote *f'rštm'ng[y](\*)h* *M* 133, 49, N. of a subdivision of the first part of the soul, acc. to H., 'magnanimity', with *f'ršt-* from *\*frā-rašta-* 'stretched, extended', and B. *f'()yr-* 'to stretch' (v. Benv., *Notes* ii 235), which Reichelt and Hansen (*Modi Mem. Vol. i* 413, *Soghd. Handschr. i* 33) derived from *frā-āraya-*. In both cases, however, the loss of the first *r* may be dissimilatory.

323. (vii) Initial *fru-* is given the same treatment as *fra-* before *š*, in B. *βš'h* (*afša*) 'flea' *SCE* 365, from *\*frušā-*, cf. Pašto *wraža*, *EVP* 91, *Yidgha friyo*, *IIFL* ii 208.

324. (viii) Initial *fra-*, *frā-*, before consonants other than those enumerated in § 315, remain unchanged, and so does *fr-* before *āi*.

325. (1) Before *γ*. *fra-*: B. *βrγ'w* *VJ* 66, *prγ'w* *VJ* 84, &c., 'treasure', cf. Parth. *frg'w*, H., *Mir. Man.* iii *Gloss. s.v.*; B. *βrγrβ'y* *Dhy* 72, Pres. Infin. (depending on *s'ct*, line 67), 'to offer'.<sup>1</sup> *frā-*: B. *βr'γ'z'nt*, 3 Pl. Subj., 'to begin', *SCE* 261 (cf. Lentz, *ST* ii 582 c), Man. *fr'γ'znd*, 3 Pl. Pres. or Impf., *M* 178 ii R 8.

326. (2) Before *k*. *fra-*: Man. *frkrnd-*, Pres. stem, § 152, S. *βrkst-*, Past stem, § 145, 'to cut'; *frqyr-* 'to neglect', v. *BBB* p. 74 bottom.

327. (3) Before *m*. *fra-*: *frm'y-* 'to order'; *\*frm'rz-*, v. § 617, Past stem *frmšt-* (§ 147), 'to spoil'. *frā-*: B. *βr'mcn'nt*, 3 Pl. Pres., 'to undress', *SCE* 218, cf. § 334, from *\*frāmunč-*; cf. also *fr'wycyh*, § 329.

328. (4) Before *p*. *fra-*: *frp'š-* *JRAS*, 1944, 143, 24, B. *βrp'š-* *P* 2, 282, 'to beat, strike'; B. *βrp'z* 'pronus', cf. Lentz, *ST* ii 590, s.v. *p'z*. [*p'z*, v. Bailey, *BSOAS*, xii 324 sqq. xiii 136.]

329. (5) Before *w*. *fra-*: *frwyδδ-* *M* 502 p 5, B. *βrw'yδ-* *P* 3, 117, 'to reach, hit (of an illness)'; B. *βrwz-* 'to fly', v. § 1039. *frā-*: *fr'wycyh*, from *\*frāmušti-*, v. § 382.

330. (6) Before *χ*. *fra-*: S. *βrγ'z-* 'to touch' *VJ* 881, *Sogd.* 64, 11; *frxrwz* 'timid', v. *BBB* p. 83 on 690; B. *βryw'y-* 'to chop', v. *BBB* p. 59, Man. *frxw'k* 'chopping' *Sogd.* 31, 23.

331. (7) *frāi-* becomes *frē-*. *fryš-* 'to send', from *fra-aišaya-*, cf. § 198; B. *βr'yštr* 'more', from Av. *fraēšta-*, v. § 1299.

(ix) A Sogdian *f* has developed from *θw*, v. § 297.

325<sup>1</sup> B. *fr'γrβ'nt* *Dhy* 176, does not contain the preverb *frā-* (Benv., *Notes* iv 509), but is 3 Pl. Impf., with *ā* acc. to § 617.

## n

332. (i) Remains, generally, *n*. *n'm* 'name', from *nāman-*; *pnc* 'five', from *panča*; *zyrn* 'gold', from *zaranya-*; &c.

333. (ii) *n* is sometimes lost before *č*, *γ*, *k*, *m*, *s*, *š*, *ts*, *θ*, and *χ*.

334. (1) Before *č*. [*δ'r*] *wqyc*, Fem., 'consisting of plants', *M* 133, 28, from *δ'rwkync*; B. *βr'mc* *VJ* 646, *pr'mc* *VJ* 697, 3 Sg. Impf., Man. *\*fr'myc-* (§ 438), 'to undress', B. *pt'ymc'nt* *VJ* 872, 3 Pl. Impf., 'to dress', against B. *βr'mcn-*, § 327 (from *\*βr'mnc-*), *ptm'ync-*, Man. *ptm'ync-*, from *\*munč-*; the side form *-myc* of the suffix *-mync*, cf. § 1103.

335. (2) Before *γ*. Chr. *xγr* 'sword' ii 2, 7, from Man. *xnγr* *Sogd.* 35, 2. *T* ii *D* 163 a 7; Chr. *γty*, Fem. *γc*, B. *γt'w*, Fem. *γtc*, against Man. *nytyy*, Fem. *nyttc*, B. *nyt'k*, Fem. *nyth*, 'whole, all, complete', cf. *ST* ii 575 a,<sup>1</sup> from Av. *hangata* 'completely', v. H., *BBB* p. 107 s.v. *ngdg*.

336. (3) Before *k*, cf. MPers. *ng* becoming *g*, Bailey, *Zor. Probl.* 125 fn. 1. *mqx[w]w* *M* 502 o 3, S. *mkγw* *P* 13, 20. *Rustam* 13, against *mngxw* *BBB* f 52, *mngx[w]* *M* 521 b 27, 'similar', v. H., *BBB* p. 103, and Benv., *Notes* iv 499.

337. (4) Before *m*. B. (*cn'w*) *cm'ny* 'from the depth of one's heart', *Intox. Sūtra* 36, against Man. (*cn'wxy*) *cnm'ny*, cf. *BBB* p. 86 on 730.

338. (5) Before *s*. Man. *ns* from B. *nns* 'nose', cf. *BBB* p. 79 on 659, and below, § 946; Chr. *xsd'r-* 'to protect', cf. Man. *xns* 'safe, strong', v. *BBB* p. 104 on f 57; *\*spstky* *M* 133, 101, and *\*nspstqy'h* ib. 69, 'willingness to serve'; Man. *fs'x* 'parasang' *T* ii *D* 116, 28, from *fns'x*, v. § 435; *xwsndy* 'happiness, contentment', from *\*χunsandya*, cf. MPers. *hunsndyh* (H.), v. also § 425. [v. Add.]

339. (6) Before *š* from *č*, cf. §§ 259 sqq.: *yšktyh* 'harem', *nγ[w]-š[']k[']štyy* 'auditrices', Chr. *imp'r myšt* 'of the body'.

(7) Before *ts*, v. § 460.

340. (8) Before *θ*. Chr. *kθ*, *knθ*, *ST* i, *qt*, *qd-*, *qnt*, *ST* ii, 'town'.

341. (9) Before *χ*. *xrwzn*, from *\*nxrwzn* 'zodiacal circle', cf. Andreas, *SPAW*, 1910, 310; *pxryy* 'planet', from *pnxryt*, Pl., *M* 664, 29.

342. (iii) An intrusive *n* appears in *xwynštrty*, Pl. Obl., 'master, chief', *BBB* b 45, cf. § 230, and in *wxznz*, Infin., 'to descend', *BBB*

335<sup>1</sup> Cf. also Man. *γtmzyn* *T* ii *D* 207, 5, *\*(n)γt(m)zy[n]* *T* ii *D* 66 c 22 (H.), 'completely armoured' (v. § 397).

490, against the Infin. 'wzx *M* 136 V 10, and the Pres. stem 'wzx- *M* 521 b 9. *Man. Lett.* ii 17, Impf. w'xz- (v. § 618), cf. *BBB* p. 54.<sup>1 2</sup>

343. (iv) An alternation between *n* and *r* is found in some words, the original sound being sometimes *n*, sometimes *r* (or *r̥*).

(1) The Present stem *xrš-*: *xnš-*: *xš-* (acc. to either § 339, or § 357), and its compounds, cf. *BBB* p. 54 sq.: B. *yrš-*: *ynš-* 'to pull'; *Man.* 'xšyc (if not to be read 'kšyc, cf. now B. 'kš-, 'k'yš-, *P* 2, 850. 851 (H.)), v. *Sogd.* p. 30 on 11 a; B. 'py'rš-, Trans., 'to remove', *Dhy* 2. *Vim* 132, py'rš- *Dhu* 286. *SCE* 266, 'py'rš m'n 'coeur qui recule' *SCE* 213, pw py'rš 'steadfast' *T* iii 10: B. 'py'nš-, Trans., *Dhy* 160. 225, Intrans. 'to retreat' *Dhy* 161, py'nš-, Trans., *Dhy* 225<sup>bis</sup>. 270, Intrans. *Dhy* 236, Chr. paxn-, Intrans., i 26, 5 (cf. § 436); S. pry'nš- 'to separate'; S. 'nyš- 'to retire', *Sogd.* 34 line 2 and fn. 3; B. ny'rš- 'to prostrate, knock down' *Dhy* 231: Chr. nxš-; B. wy'rš-: *Man.* \*wxnš- and wxš- (§ 809), Chr. wxšn- (cf. § 435 sq.), Chr. wxš- 'to deliver', S. wy'nš 'deliverance' *JRAS*, 1944, 137, 1.

344. (2) *arš* is found instead of *and*, in B. k'tsy'rš 'mimicry', as compared with *Man.* q'tsxndy'tt 'practical jokes', v. *BBB* p. 84 on 716.

345. (3) In the place of OIr. *r*, we have *an* in S. βnš 'mane' *P* 19, 21, from b'ša- (H.); *n* replaces *r* in the LW *wxn'n* 'Tuesday', from MPers. warhrān, v. *BBB* p. 85 bottom.

346. (v) *anθr* becomes *ār*. Av. maθra- appears in B. m'rkr'yt 'soothsayers' *VJ* 59. 9<sup>a</sup>, m'r'kr'k *SCE* 263, m'r'kh wn- 'diviner' *VJ* 28<sup>b</sup>, cf. Salemann, *Izv.*, 1913, 1130, and in xwm'r 'consolation', v. § 391 [v. also Addenda to § 1117]; t'ryy 'darkness', from \*taθraka-.

347. (vi) *n*, becoming final, was lost in Chr. 'rwaxš 'bandage' (cf. §§ 158. 221 fn.), from Av. urvixšna- (in zaranyō.urvixšna- 'with golden shoelaces'), from \*urvisna-, cf. § 257 (H.).

(vii) On *n* becoming *m* before *p*, v. § 449; on *n* becoming *r* by dissimilation (?), v. § 467.

342<sup>1</sup> The *n* of *Man.* βjynd (heavy stem) *BBB* 509, against B. βzyšy (light stem) *Frg.* iii 22, both Infinitives of βjyšš- 'to mount', and of *Man.* 'wjynd *BBB* 508, Infin. of 'wjyš- 'to dismount' (v. § 376), cf. *BBB* p. 60, to which one may possibly add Chr. žynyt i 27, 8, B. zy'nt(i) *VJ* 1389. 1398. 1399, S. 'zy'nty, Nom., *T* i a i 15 (-aka- stem?), 'messenger', v. *Sogd.* 35, might belong to the root (\*zgn-).

342<sup>2</sup> Not clear is the case of šnz 'branch' *M* 664, 26. *M* 765 d 3, pršnzyt, Pl., 'small branches', *M* 664, 28, presumably belonging to Pers., &c., šāz, cf. also Wakhi šolz (*IIFL* ii 461). Walde-Pokorny, *Idg. Wb.* i 325, have postulated a nasalized stem, IE. *kank* or *konk*.

## m

348. (i) Remains, generally, *m*. m'n 'mind', from mān-; n'm 'name', from nāman-; rymnyy 'dirty, impure', cf. Av. irimant-, v. *BBB* p. 74 on 583; &c.

349. (ii) Final -am becomes -u in the endings of the Acc. Sg. Masc. (§ 1171), Nom.-Acc. Neuter (§§ 1169. 1172), and the 1 Sg. Impf. (§ 687).

350. (iii) Final -ām may have become -ū in the endings -w of the Acc. Sg. Fem. (§ 1173), -nw of the Obl.-Acc. of some numerals (§ 1322), -šnw of the pronominal Obl. Pl. (in the historical spellings S. wyšnw § 1447, cywyšnw § 1450, myšnw § 1479, cym'ntšnw § 1488, wyspyšnw § 1214) from \*-šanām, cf. § 1399 (with fn.), *Anc. Lett.* -'nw of the Gen. Pl.

(iv) Final -īm has possibly become -ī in the Acc. xwrnyy 'blood', v. § 1168 fn.

351. (v) Internal ām became āw in *Man.* fr'wycyḥ 'forgetfulness', from \*frāmušti-, v. § 382, in Chr. mr'wt, adj., 'crying' i 72, 3, Pl. of \*mr'w from \*brāma- (H.), cf. § 310, and in the prefix "w- from Av. hāmō-, v. H., *BBB* p. 67, who quotes S. "umr'z 'assistant' (also *Man.* "umr'z, Pl., *Kaw.*, G 1), S. "wsywn'k 'one with whom one talks', *Man.* "wqršnyy,<sup>1</sup> N. of the Column of Splendour, *Man.* "wšm'ndt 'sahavāsa', and has since added *Man.* "wx'nyy 'living in the same house' *M* 549 i 8, B. "wm'n'k 'unanimously' *P* 2, 266, "wptšyww 'equally honoured' *P* 2, 1137, "w-w'δ'k 'sharing place' *P* 2, 1137. 1195 sq., "wy'r 'one with whom one has a quarrel' *P* 3, 58.

352. (vi) Foreign *m* appears as *p* in *skpwndyy* *M* 746 c 4, possibly 'scammonia', NPers. saqmūniyā, v. Hübschmann, *Arm. Grammatik*, i<sup>2</sup> 376, cf. § 290. For the interchange *m*: *b*, *p*, cf. Arabic زبرد; Greek σμάπαιδος, MPers. clp 'qalam' *Sogd.* p. 37 on 25, and v. H., BSOS x 949 fn. 4. [Meaning of *skpwndyy* quite uncertain.]

(vii) On *m* dissimilated into *v*, v. § 466; on *m* becoming *n* v. § 448.

## r

353. (i) Remains *r*: rw'n 'soul', from Av. urvan-; šwr 'far', from dūra-; fry- 'dear', from frya-; mrtyy 'man', from martiya-; &c.

354. (ii) *r* is sometimes dropped before *ž*, *n*, *s* (§ 459 sq.), *š*, *ts* (§ 461), and after *ā*.

355. (1) Before *ž* (cf. § 148). *Man.* kj 'miracle' *Sogd.* 52 t 5, Chr. qž ii 3, 70, otherwise *Man.* krj, Chr. qřž-.

351<sup>1</sup> Translating Parth. h'mcyhrg (H.) [v. Add.]

356. (2) Before *n* (cf. Chr. *spwn-*, § 151). Chr. *pynmcyq* 'former, previous' *B* 49, 7, otherwise Man. Chr. *pyrnmcyq*; Chr. *w'cn* 'market', v. Hansen, *AbhPAW*, 1937, Nr. 9, p. 41 on 6, Man. *w'crn*, v. § 399.

357. (3) Before *š* (cf. § 147). Chr. *pšt* 'lips' ii 2, 6, B. *pršt* *SCE* 86, v. H., *BSOS* viii 585 fn. 3; Chr. *pšt'y-* 'to prepare', Man. B. *pršt'y-*; Man. *qšn* (*kašn*) *T* ii *B* R 5, *kšn* *M* 760, 26, Chr. *qšn*, Man. B. *kršn* (*karšn*), 'appearance, shape'; S. *\*št*, N. of the 26th day, v. H., *Orientalia*, viii 92, from Av. *arštāt-*.

358. (4) After *ā*. Man. Chr. *p* 'for, but' *T* ii *B* R 14. *M* 134 i V 4. *ST* i 81, 10. *ST* ii 6, 35 < *p'r*; Chr. *s*, post-position, 'towards', Chr. *'wc* 'there', Chr. *mc* 'here', Chr. *p'ys* 'after', from *s'r*, *'wrt's'r*, *mrt's'r* (§ 461), B. *'pyšys'r* (§ 373); Chr. (*ST* ii) *-d't*, from *-d'rt*, 3 Sg. Pres. of *d'r-*, cf. Telegdi, *JA*, t. 230 (1938), p. 229. [v. Add.]

359. (iii) An unetymological *r* is sometimes inserted before *n* and after long vowels. This is in keeping with the tendency to drop a genuine *r* in the same positions (§§ 356. 358), and, generally, with the weak articulation of *r* in Sogdian (cf. also § 137). The group *rn* with a spurious *r* does not make position (against § 526, *g*).

For the appearance of an inorganic *r* after long vowels, cf. the English spellings *farther*, *marster*, in the Cely Papers (cf. H. C. Wyld, *A History of Modern Colloquial English*, 3rd ed., p. 298).

360. (1) Before *n*. *xurn-*, *yxurn-*, 'blood', v. § 1168 fn., beside *yxwn-* and *ywxn-*, § 417, from Av. *vohuni/a-*; Chr. *z'rcrnwqy* 'mercy' ii 6, 5, otherwise *z'rcnwqy*.

361. (2) After a long vowel. *škwrd* 'difficult', against OPers. *škauði-*, cf. *BBB* p. 88 on 763, v. also § 366.

362. (iv) Different from the preceding is the insertion of *r* after initial *v* in *βrywr* 'myriad', from Av. *baēvar-*. Cf. also B. *βry* (?) *r* from Skt. *viḥāra* (v. H., *BBB* p. 88 on 763. *BSOS* ix 570. x 94 fn. 4), and NPers. *barahne* 'naked', from *\*bāy-na-* (v. H., *Sogd.* 41 bottom).

363. (v) A Sogdian *r* is sometimes used as an attempt to reproduce cerebral sounds in words taken over from Sanskrit. Hansen has thus explained B. *k'rt'k* '*grhasṭha*', from MInd. *\*gāṭṭha*, B. *purny'nyh* (Man. *purny'nyy*), § 1035) '*puṇya*' (*BSOS* viii 579), and B. *kr'z'kh* 'garment' *VJ* 1497, from Skt. *kāśāya* (*SPAW*, 1938, 398 fn. 1).

To these, Dr. Henning has added B. *n'rkr'k* 'actor', *SCE* 123, from Skt. *nāṭa* 'acting', cf. Khot. *nālaa-*, Bailey, *BSOS* viii 935. x 583 fn. 2, and B. *βy'wr'y* *P* 2, 191. 198, *βr'wr'k* *T* ii *D* 213 (40) 33. N. pr., Skt. *Virūḍhaka* (Khot. *vārūlei*, *virrulai*, v. Bailey, *BSOS* x 915).

Cf. also Khot. *śararṇa* from Skt. *śaranya*, Bailey, *BSOS* x 903.

(vi) On *dr* becoming *ž* v. § 285.

On *θr* becoming *š*, v. § 299.

On *sr* becoming *š*, v. § 371.

On *r* alternating with *n*, v. §§ 343 sqq.

On initial *fra-* v. §§ 315 sqq.

On *r* becoming *γ* by dissimilation (?), v. § 469.

On the dissimilatory loss of *r* v. § 473.

## s

364. (i) Remains *s*: *sr-* 'head', from Av. *sarāh-*; *šst-* 'hand', from OPers. *dasta-*; *'sp-* 'horse', from *aspa-*; &c.

365. (ii) The group *sk* apparently remains *sk* in interior position, but becomes *šk* initially.

With verbs or verbal nouns used with a preverb, the initial *šk* is regularly transferred into the interior.

A number of etymologically obscure words with initial *sk* in Sogdian, may have had the preverb *us-*, or the contact between *s* and *k* may be secondary otherwise.<sup>1</sup>

366. (1) Initial (?) *šk-*. B. (?) *šk'np* 'world' *VJ* 529. 1218. &c., from *skamb-* 'to stem'; *škr-* 'to lead, take', from *\*skar-*; *škwrd* 'difficult' (§ 361), from *\*skauði-*, cf. Parth. *'skwḥ* 'poor' (H.); B. *'škrwḥ* *šw-* 'to stumble' *SCE* 21, from *\*škarf-*, v. § 482, cf. MPers. *'škrw-*, Parth. *'skrf-* (H., *BSOS* ix 81), from *\*skar-*, v. H., *BSOS* x 508 (H.).

367. (2) Internal *šk* (on *šyškyy* 'drop' v. § 450). B. *'nšk'np* 'world' *VJ* 992; Man. *pškmbskwun*, 3 Sg. Pres., *T* i a (no context); Man. *pškyr-* 'to be chased', v. *BBB* p. 103 on f 42. [v. Add.]

368. (3) Internal *sk*. *'rsk* 'envy', from Av. *araska-*, cf. § 164; *'sk* 'high, loud' (§ 1215), from Av. *uskāt*.

369. (4) Initial *sk-*. B. *'sk'rn'k* 'stupid' *Vim* 1. *SCE* 43. 113; Chr. *sqrḥ* ' ? ' ii 6, 39; *skrtyy* 'triumphant', § 1288; *skfs* 'obstinate', *pwsksfty* 'unobjecting', from *\*kamp-* 'to bend' (?);<sup>1</sup> B. *'sk'n* 'line, sign' *Dhy* 52 (cf. Weller, *ad locum*). [*sqrḥ*, v. Bailey, *JRAS* 1949, 2.]

365<sup>1</sup> This set of rules is only tentative. It is made particularly uncertain by a group of words which look as if they belonged to the base *skand-* 'to break': *qškndm'nyk'yḥ* 'destructive intention', S. *kiskn'k*, Chr. *qsqnty* 'destroyed, devastated', acc. to H. from *kat-* 'house' + *skand-*, v. *BBB* p. 63 on 521, cf. §§ 462. 472.

B. *'pškstw* *Vim* 116, translating Skt. *kālpa* acc. to Weller, *Abh. K. Morg.* xxii 6 (1937) p. 42 sq.; H. suggests that the Sogdian translator may have misunderstood the character 去 *kie* (*chie*), and rendered its ordinary meaning 'to rob, plunder'. *'pškstw* could be derived from *\*fra-skasta-*. B. *'sk'nt* *VJ* 77. 124, *'sk'nty* *VJ* 51, 'cripple', for which H. compares Av. *skanda-* Y. 9<sup>28</sup> 'palsied' and Parth. *'sknd*, with the same meaning.

369<sup>1</sup> Acc. to H., *BBB* p. 83 on 689, from *\*skamb-* 'to stem'.

370. (iii) *sp* has become *šp* in Man. *pšp'ryy*, B. *'nšpr-* 'to walk', B. *βšp'ry* 'sole', from the base *spar-*, v. *BBB* s.v. *pšp'ryy*, cf. also *pšpr-*, § 1100.

371. (iv) *sr* became *š* (cf. *š* from *sr* in Pašto, *EVP* 77 sqq., and Yidgha, *IIFL* ii 71). *šyškyy* 'drop; tear' *M* 137 V 7. *M* 857, 7. *T ii D* 267, 16, from Av. *sraska-*, cf. Parth. *srsk*, NPers. *sirišk* (v. also § 450); B. *'γwšh* 'mother-in-law' *SCE* 54, from *\*hwasrū-*, cf. NPers. *x'aš* and *xusrū*, v. Hübschmann, *Pers. Stud.* 15, Yidgha *xušo*, &c., v. Morgenstierne, *IIFL* ii 269; B. *šwn* 'hips' *P* 7, 57 (H.), from Av. *sraoni-*, cf. Pašto *šna*, *EVP* 78, NPers. *surūn*; B. *cškw-* 'tear' (*cškwyy*, Nom. *VJ* 1373), S. *'ckw-* (v. § 385 fn.), from *\*asruka-* (v. § 423), cf. NPers. *ašk* and *ars*, Hübschmann, loc. cit.<sup>1</sup>

372. (v) *sč* appears as

(1) *c*, presumably after having passed through a stage *\*šč*, cf. § 382, in *xcy*, possibly also *'ycy*, 'is', with *-cy* from *\*-šči*, from *\*-sči*, from *-sti*, cf. § 275, and, perhaps, in *fcmbδ* 'world', from *\*frasčamba-*, cf. Av. *frasčimbana-*, Khot. *haškama-* 'heap', and, from the same root, B. *(')škl'np* (§ 366), *'nšk'np* (§ 367), 'world'.<sup>1</sup>

373. (2) *š*, in the derivatives from Av. *pasča*, cf. Tedesco, *MO* xv 212 fn.: Man. *pš-*, B. *pyš-*, used as a prefix, v. § 1143; B. *pyšm* *SCE* 532. *ST ii* 8, 7, *'pyšm* *ST ii* 7, 15. 22, 'according to', preposition with suffixed article, from *pasča+ima-* (§ 1472);<sup>1</sup> Chr. *pšy*, *pšys*, 'after', postposition, Man. *pšyy* *δβr-* *\*'backdoor'* *Man. Lett.* i 29, B. *'pyšys'r* 'en arrière' *VJ* 788. 791. 900, S. *'pšys'r* 'then' *T M* 389 a R 4, from *pasča+suffix -ka-*;<sup>2</sup> Comparative Chr. *pyštrw*, B. *'pyštrw* 'later', enlarged by the suffix *-cyk* B. *'pyštr'yck* *SCE* 489, *pyštrycyk* *SCE* 485, 'future'; *pyšt* (*pīšt*) 'but, and, then', from *\*pašūt*, from Av. *pasčaēta*, v. Benveniste, *Grammaire*, 204.

374. (vi) *s* becomes *š* when palatalized by a following *y*, v. § 201. A following *i* appears to have the same effect<sup>1</sup> in B. *šykth* 'pebbles' *VJ* 780. 902. 1105. *Dhu* 285, *škth* *VJ* 1266, Man. *šyktβryy* *M* 110 ii R 6, against MPers. *sygd*, v. H., *BSOS* ix 88.

(vii) On *s* becoming *š* by assimilation, v. § 450.

371<sup>1</sup> B. *šyn* *SCE* 166, *šynh* *SCE* 230, 'bed', is not derived from Av. *sray-*, but is a LW from Skt. *śayana* (H.).

372<sup>1</sup> The difficulty lies in the final *-δ* of *fcmbδ*. From *\*frasčambana-pada-* > *\*frasčambambad-* > *šcambad*, lit. 'place of support'? [Acc. to H. popular corruption of Skt. *Jambudvīpa*].

373<sup>1</sup> Thus Benv., *Grammaire*, 204, who later (*Notes* ii 215) proposed a different etymology.

373<sup>2</sup> Acc. to Benv., *SCE* ii, p. 32 on 401, *'pyšys'r* does not belong here, but to B. *'pš'rm'y* (v. § 171).

374<sup>1</sup> But cf. B. *šymh* 'terror, fright', from Av. *sima-*, cf. § 1082.

## Z

375. (i) Remains *z*. *zyrn* 'gold', from *zaranya-*; *'ztyw* 'exiled', from *uzdahyu-* (§ 97); *zβ'k* 'tongue', from Av. *hizvā-* (§ 240); *z(n)w(q)* 'chin, jaw' *Sogd.* 49, 7, from *\*zanuka-*; *-mzt'yzn* (§ 284), from *\*mazdayazna-*, cf. Lentz, *ZII* iv 263, Bailey, *Zor. Probl.* 177 sq.; B. *'γwzn-* 'deer', Man. *γwzynyh* *M* 662, 2 (no context), cf. Pers. *gavazn*, Oss. *qwasn*, Bailey, *BSOS* vii 69, Khot. *ggūysna-*, Bailey, *BSOS* viii 123.

376. (ii) Becomes *ž*.

(1) When palatalized by *y*, v. § 201.

(2) Before *g* (*γ*), in *βjγδδ-* 'to mount', and *'wjγδδ-* *JRAS*, 1944, 143, 18 'to dismount', from Av. *zgaδ-*, v. Tedesco, *ZII* ii 40; cf., however, the *ž* of Av. *hvō.γžatha-*; v. also § 342 fn. 1. On S. *w'c'γδ-* and *βz'γst-*, v. § 483.

377. (3) In secondary contact with *b* in Man. *wjp-*, Chr. *'wžb-* (*užb-*), 'terror' (v. § 510), derived by H. from Av. *(duž)azōbā-*, becoming *\*ūzbā* and *užba*.

378. (4) Dialectically, before *v* from *w*, in Chr. *žb'q* 'tongue' i 30, 4 (reading confirmed by Lentz, *ST* ii 602 a), cf. Khwār. *žβ'k*, against Man. *zβ'k*, from Av. *hizvā-*, v. §§ 93. 240.

379. (5) Before *d*, with loss of *d* (on *zd* remaining *zd* v. § 284,<sup>1</sup> cf. also *ž* from *žd*, § 266). *βj-*, &c. (§ 179) 'evil', from Av. *bazda-*, cf. Bailey, *BSOS* vii 85; Chr. *rwž-* 'to wish', from *ruzd-*, cf. MPers. *ruzd* 'greedy', v. H., *Sogd.* p. 47 on 3; Man. *pjwq* 'abortion' *M* 530, 11 (quoted *BBB* p. 62 on 516), Pl. *pjwqt* *T ii B V* 1, from Av. *pazdu-*, cf. Pahl. *pazūk*, Bailey, loc. cit. (original meaning 'expelled, rejected creature', cf. Av. *pazdaya-* 'to drive away'?)

(6) By assimilation, v. § 451.

(iii) On the assimilatory loss of *z* before *s*, v. § 465; before *ž*, v. § 458.

380 (iv) A late prothetic *z* before *m* has been recognized by H. in B. *zm'wrc*, *zm'wr'k*, 'ant' (§ 247), cf. Uigur *zmurun*[sic], Greek *σμπρνα*, with *μπρπα*, *σμπρpaydos* with Skt. *marakata*.

## Š

381. (i) Remains *š*. *'xšp-* 'night', from Av. *xšapā-*; *'zryš-* 'to hurt', from *'raēš-*, v. *BBB* p. 56 on 492; *'kyšp-*, from Av. *karšvar-*, v. 147; &c.

379<sup>1</sup> The differentiation in the Sogdian treatment of OIr. *zd* may have its reason in the different origin of the *zd* groups, cf. *mazdāh-* corresponding to Skt. *medhā*, but *bazda-* with *zd* from *dh+t* (H.).



382. (ii) Proto-Sogdian *šč* became *č*. *fr'wycyh* 'forgetfulness', from B. *fr'wycy*, from \**frāmušti*-, v. BBB p. 75 on 605 (cf. §§ 119. 275. 329. 351. 1007); *prcy* 'behind', from \**paršči*-, from Av. *paršti*-, v. § 275; possibly Man. *mwškyc* 'wild cat',<sup>1</sup> and B. *γytcn* 'stingy';<sup>2</sup> cf. also § 372.

383. (iii) S. *šč* became Man. *j* in 'yjn 'worthy', owing to the special origin of *šč* in this word, cf. §§ 155. 263 fn. 2.

384. (iv) *žz* apparently became *č* in *βyc* 'physician', from Av. *baēšaza*-, v. BBB p. 62, but cf. Pahl. *bck'n*, Bailey, BSOS ix 230; v. § 949 on B. *βyšyky*.

385. (v) *š* is lost after *č(a)*-.  
(1) Before *m*, in Chr. *cmy*, *cmf*, Pl., ST ii, Man. *cmyy T ii D 63 a 15*, 'eye', beside Man. Chr. B. *cšm*-, from *čašman*-, cf. Khwār. *tsam*, Khot. *tcei'ma*-, Ormuri *cimi*, &c.<sup>1</sup>

386. (2) Before *n* in Chr. *cn'wq* 'thirsty' i 24, 7, Man. *wšn cn'* 'krtyšy' 'you have become hungry (cf. § 210 fn. 1) and thirsty' (?) M 121 V 4, against B. *cšn* 'thirst' VJ 814. *Vim 134*, *cšn'mwrtk* 'dead with thirst' VJ 317 sq., from \**tršna*-, v. Bailey, BSOS vi 67 (cf. § 277); cf. Ormuri *trunuk*. [Chr. *cn*-, Abl., 'thirst', Hansen, *Giw*. p. 7.]

387. (vi) Final *-š* is lost in the ending of the 2 Sg. Opt., v. §§ 692. 695. On the dissimilatory loss of *š*, v. § 474.

(vii) A Sogdian *š* has developed from

<i>θr</i> , § 299.	<i>s</i> , before <i>p</i> , § 370.
<i>θw</i> , § 298.	Palatalized <i>s</i> , § 374.
<i>θi</i> , § 302.	<i>sr</i> , § 371.
<i>šč</i> , § 373.	<i>čy</i> , § 196.
<i>s</i> , before <i>k</i> , § 366 sq.	<i>h</i> , § 405.

382<sup>1</sup> The forms attested are Man. *mwškyc* M 127 V 2, Uigur *miškič SPAW*, 1930, 467, B. *mwškyšc(h)* SCE 330. 359, B. *mwškynch* Frg. iii 39. Assuming that *mwškyšc* is the oldest form, *mwškyc* may be a case like *fr'wycyh*, or it may have lost the second *š* through dissimilation. *mwškynch* would then represent an inverse spelling of *mwškyc*, on the analogy of *-myc*: *-mynch*, &c. (§ 334). *mwškyšc* could be derived from \**mūš-kušt(a)r* 'mouse-killer', cf. Skt. *mūṣikāda*, Greek *μυόφορρος*; for *i* from *u* cf. § 119, for *-šč* from *-štr* cf. § 278.

382<sup>2</sup> B. *γytcny'kyh*, Obl., 'stinginess', SCE 70. If *tc* is here used instead of *c*, this may be a phonetic development from Man. *γyšcnk T i D 51*, B. *γyšcn'k* SCE 46, 'stingy'. The etymology, however, is unknown; *-cn(?)k* is here considered to be a suffix, v. § 1021.

385<sup>1</sup> The similar development of S. *'ckw*, Pl., 'tears', So. 338, from B. *cškw* (§ 371), may support a suggestion by Prof. Turner, that the initial *c*- of this word should be the result of a contamination between \**aškw* and *čšm*-. A parallel from Indian languages, as Prof. Turner kindly informed me, is provided by Bhadravāhī *ēkhu*, Bhalēsi *ākhu* 'tear', which presumably show con-

h

## 388. Conspectus.

Preserved as <i>χ</i> .	Initial, 389 sq.	
	Internal.	Before <i>u (w)</i> , 391. 392. Before <i>āu</i> , 393. After long vowels, 394. 395. 396.
Lost.	Initial, 397.	
	Internal.	Before <i>i, y</i> , 398. After <i>š</i> , 399. In syncope, 400. <i>-ah-</i> stems, 403. Av. ending <i>-ahe</i> , 404.
Final, 401 sq.		
Becomes <i>š</i> , 405.		

389. (i) OIr. *h* is preserved as *χ*:

(1) Initially.

(a) Before *u (w)*, cf. fn. 1 on § 391, in Man. *xwr* 'sun', and *xwp* 'good, skilful', v. § 223.

390. (b) In the pronominal stem *x*-, v. §§ 1398. b. 1405 sqq.

(c) In some forms belonging to OIr. *ah*-'to be', v. §§ 760 sqq.

391. (2) Internally.

(a) Before *u (w)*,<sup>1</sup> which afterwards may be transposed through metathesis. (Exception: *zrwšc*-, § 399.) *xwrmzt*-, from *ahura-mazdāh*- (on the ending v. § 395 fn.); *xwmn*-, N. of the 2nd day, from Av. *vohu-manah*-, cf. §§ 208. 404; Man. Chr. *xwm'r* 'consolation' M 617 i 28. B 49, 2. 12, B. *γwm'r* VJ 1115, from Av. *vohu* + *maθra*-, v. §§ 208. 346; *xwrn*-, *γxu(r)n*-, 'blood', from Av. *vohunī/a*-, v. § 208 sq.; *xwnd*-, from *-ahwant*-, v. § 939; *'wx* 'mind', *š'twx* 'happy', from Av. *anhvā*-, v. § 236; either *a(p)hvā*- or *ahv*-'existence' may be recognized in Chr. *bž'xwq* B 49, 5, B. *βyz'γwk* passim, 'unhappy, miserable', with suffix *-ka*-, and the abstract Man. (?) *βj'xwt'y'h* 'unhappiness, suffering (not clear whether mental or physical)', v. BBB p. 90 on a 9, with suffix *-ty* (v. § 1070. Wrong

tamination of Skt. *āśru* and *ākṣi*, the normal outcome of *šr* in this group being \**štr*, becoming *thr* (e.g. Khasāli *āthru* 'tear'). For Henning's explanation of the initial *c*-, v. § 286 fn. One may also consider the possibility of *cškw*- going back to \**dasruka*-(cf. Greek *δάκρυ*, &c.), becoming \**dašuka*-, \**daškwa*-, and then developing acc. to § 286.

391<sup>1</sup> The tendency of *hw* to become *xw*, is seen also in the Avesta, cf. Bartholomae, *Gdr. Ir. Phil.* i 37.

Lentz, *ST* ii 580 a);<sup>2</sup> S. 'rt<sub>1</sub>w, N. of the 25th day, Man. 'pwx, N. of the 10th day, from \*wahwī-, v. § 237.

392. (b) *h* also becomes *χ* when its position in front of *u* (*w*) is due to metathesis. 'rt<sub>1</sub>wš<sub>1</sub>, N. of the 3rd element, S. 'rt<sub>1</sub>wš<sub>1</sub>, N. of an intercalary day (cf. H., *Orientalia*, viii 90 with fn. 3), from *pta*- + *wahišta*- (art<sub>1</sub>χwš<sub>1</sub>,<sup>1</sup> from \*art<sub>1</sub>χwš<sub>1</sub>, from \*art<sub>1</sub>u<sub>1</sub>hš<sub>1</sub>, from \*art<sub>1</sub>wahišt<sub>1</sub>), against the treatment of *wahišta*- in *wš<sub>1</sub>m'x* (§ 210); Man. *xw'qr* 'merchant' *T* ii D 66 b 9. 28, B. *γw'kr* *Vim* 157, from \*wahākara- (cf. § 63), v. *BBB* p. 116 top, against *w'crn* 'street, bazar', from \*wahāčarana- (v. § 399), where no metathesis took place.

393. (c) Before *āu* in Chr. *dya'w* 'village' i 36, 14. 52, 3. ii 3, 54, from *dahyāw*-, cf. § 398 fn. 1 on 'ztyw.

394. (d) After long vowels if, owing to the loss of the endings, *h* moved into final position (except if *h* was followed by *i*, § 398; a special case is that of B. 'y, § 401).

395. (a) *m'x* 'moon, month', from *māh*-; Man. *x'x* 'source, spring' (*x'xlyy*, Pl., *T* ii B R 3, *x'xsryyt*, Pl., *M* 178 i V 1), B. *γ'γh* *VJ* 961. 1206, cf. Bailey, *BSOS* ix 75, if it goes back to \*χāha-, and not to \*χāxa-, as supposed by Bailey; *wš<sub>1</sub>m'x* 'paradise', from Av. *vahištəm ahūm*, cf. § 113, vii; perhaps *mzyx* 'great, big', v. § 403.<sup>1</sup>

396. (β) After *χ* was thus established in final position, suffixes could be added. Man. *y'xyy* 'brave' *T* ii D 66, 2, 8, *y'xy* *M* 137 R 6, Pl. *y'xyt* *M* 871, 8, B. *y'γy* *SCE* 308. *Padm* 49, which H. derives from \*yāh- (cf. the meaning of Av. *yāskərət*-) + suffix -aka-; *'ndwxc* 'sorrow' *M* 178 i V 15 and passim, cf. NPers. *andōh*, with suffix -č (§ 1004); if *mzyx* belongs to § 395, one should here mention B. *mz'y'yk* 'nw'z'k 'big assembly' *SCE* 62, S. *mz'y'zk* *Anc. Lett.* ii 53 (meaning, acc. to H., 'grown up, of age'), Fem. *mz'y'zch* *ptwh* 'great retribution', ib. 40, with suffix -(a)ka-.

397. (ii) *h* is lost.

(1) Initially always, except in the words mentioned § 389 sq. After

392<sup>2</sup> Similar to βj'xw- with βj- 'bad', may be B. *wytyy* *SCE* 466. *P* 3, 117, *wtyy* *Vim* 17, *wtyrwy* *Vim* 19, 'suffering' (*wətuχ*-, *wətuχw*-?), from \*wata- 'bad' + ahu-.

392<sup>1</sup> To which was adapted the name of the third day, 'rt<sub>1</sub>wz<sub>1</sub>wš<sub>1</sub>, *artawəχwš<sub>1</sub>* (inst. of \*artawš<sub>1</sub> or \*artaxwš<sub>1</sub>), < *ptahe wahištahe*.

395<sup>1</sup> An exception to this treatment is *xwrmzt* from *ahura-mazdāh*-, but the *h* of *mazdāh*- is also lost in Av. *mazdqm*, Acc., and other forms which follow the -ā- stem inflection (cf. Bartholomae, *Gdr. Ir. Phil.* i 235). Note the form without -ā- in the name of the first day in Sogdian script, *γwrmzt*, *'γwrmzt*.

its disappearance a following short vowel can be reduced acc. to §§ 82 sq. 92 sq. 96. 99-102.

The prefixes 'n- and 'w-, from Av. *ham*- and *hāmō*- (§ 351) respectively; *mywn* 'all, complete', from *hamagaona*-; *mzyyn* *M* 133, 74, B. *mz'yn* *VJ* 921, 'with an armour, armoured', from \*hama-zaēna-; *mwc* 'teacher', from \*hamauk-, v. Bailey, *Phil. Soc. Trans.*, 1936, 100; *pn'nc* 'co-wife', from Av. *hapaθnī*-, v. § 1046; *z'r* 'thousand', from \*hazahra-; Man. S. *m'yδ* 'thus', Chr. *myθ* i 16, 19. 81, 9, *maiθ* from \*hama-iθa, and B. *m'δ* 'thus, so that', from \*hama-aθa, cf. Av. *hamaθa*;<sup>1</sup> 'rt<sub>1</sub>t, N. of the 6th day, from Av. *haurvatāt*- (cf. § 86 fn.); 'mynyy 'summer', from Av. *hāmīna*-; *zβ'k* 'tongue', from Av. *hizvā*-, *škw*- 'dry', from *hišku*-, v. § 93; B. 'yntk'w 'Indian', § 94; *ytkw*- 'bridge', from Av. *haētū*-, § 126; Chr. *nznē* 'humble' i 6, 9, abstract Man. *nzndy'h*, cf. § 27, from \*huna°, cf. Arm. *hnazand* (H.); 'wβt-, Past stem, 'to sleep', from \*hufta-, § 857.

398. (2) In internal position the examples of loss of *h* can be distributed as follows.

(a) Before *i* or *y* (on *ahi* 'thou art' v. § 405). *nyδ*- 'to sit down', from \*nihida-, cf. Tedesco, *BSL* xxiv 199 sq.; 'ztyw 'exiled', from *uzdahyū*- (§ 97);<sup>1</sup> the ending -' of the 2 Sg. Subj. (§ 698), from -āhi; S. *wp'nc'k*, N. of an intercalary,<sup>2</sup> from \*wahy(ah)- + *pančaka*-, v. H., *Orientalia*, viii 90 with fn. 2, cf. § 210 fn. 2, where *wš<sub>1</sub>m'x*, *wyš<sub>1</sub>m'x*, 'paradise', from Av. *vahištəm ahūm*, is mentioned; *ky*, Oblique of the relative pronoun, from *kahya*.

The last three examples also fall under § 399.

399. (b) After *a*, unless, with the exception of *zrwšc*, *h* is followed by *u* (*w*), v. § 391. 'ym 'I am', from *ahmi*, v. also § 432; *m'x* 'we', from \*ahmāxam, cf. OPers. *amāxam*; Man. *r'k* 'vein', H., *JRAS*, 1942, 232 fn. 6, cf. MPers. *rg*, NPers. *rag*, Parth. (unpubl.) *rhq*, from \*rahaka-, cf. Av. *Ranhā*- (H.); Man. *w'crn*, Chr. *w'cn* (§ 356), 'street', from \*wahāčarana-, v. *BBB* s.v., cf. § 392; *xw'r* 'sister' *M* 760, 16, from *χwaha*-; B. *z'kt*, Pl., *VJ* passim, Man. *z'kt(yy)*

397<sup>1</sup> Beside B. *m'δ* we have Chr. *m'f* in *ST* ii, which would point to an old *t* having become *d* (cf. § 269). On the other hand there is also Chr. *myt* ii 6, 10. 41, *myd* i 81, 12, against *myθ* quoted above, so that one is at liberty to assume that B. *m'δ* stands for *māθ* [v. Add. to § 96, p. 307].

398<sup>1</sup> The reason for the difference in the treatment of *uzdahyū*- and *dahyāw*- (§ 393) presumably is that in the latter *y* had disappeared after producing umlaut (v. § 183), while in *uzdahyū*- the *a*, not being stressed, was reduced as in §§ 164 sqq. before it could be palatalized, causing *y* to remain, and the preceding *h* to disappear.

398<sup>2</sup> Perhaps the *vpači* of Rachmati, *T.T.* vii 19, N° 9, 3, is to be read *wpnacy* (?).

*T i a* (Par. 12), Sg. \**z'k'* from \**zahaka-*, cf. MPers. *zhg* (H.); *z'r* 'thousand', from \**hazahra-*; Man. *zrwšc-* *T ii D 66*, 1. 3, S. \**zr'wšc-* JRAS, 1944, 138, 26 (*zrušc-*, light stem), 'Zoroaster', from \**zarahuštr* (v. H., *Deutsche Literaturzeitung*, 1932, Heft 18, p. 830), cf. Parth. *zrhwšt*, v. § 278.

(c) After *ā*, in *γr'myy* 'property, wealth', from Gathic *grāhma-* see H., JRAS, 1944, 139 fn. 5.

400. (d) Together with a following *a* or *i*, if these are lost through syncope. *ptxw'y-* 'to kill', from \**pati-χwāya-*, from \**pati-χwāhaya-*; \**wšt-* 'to stand, step', *ōšt-* from \**ōhišta-*, from *awa-hišta-*.

401. (e) In B. \**y*, 3 Sg. Impf., 'to be', v. § 766, acc. to H. from \**āha* (Av. *ānha*), becoming \**āya*, with *y* as hiatus consonant.

402. (3) In final position. For Av. *-ō* from *-ah*, Sogdian has *-i*, spelled *-y(y)*. This was established by Tedesco, ZII iv 126, on the strength of the Nom. Sg. Masc. ending *-y*, and of *xwtyy* 'self', from Av. *x'atō*. One may add the rel.-interrog. pronoun *ky* from Av. *kō*, and *ššcy*, N. of the 8th day, from *daθušō*, v. §§ 276. 443.

403. (iii) OIr. *-ah-* stems are generally treated as *-a-* stems (v. §§ 935. 938 sq.), including heavy stems in *-iyah-* (*kambē*, from \**kambiyah-*, § 1302). But with stems in *-iyah-* that would normally become light it is just possible that *iya* became *ē* (§ 202) causing *h* (> *χ*) to remain, cf. § 395 sq. This would provide an explanation for *mzyx* 'great, big', from the comparative Av. *mazyah-*.<sup>1</sup>

404. (iv) The Gen. ending of Av. *vərəθraynahe*, N. of the 20th day, and the ending of *vənəhə mananəhe*, N. of the 2nd day, appear as *-* in the Sogdian light stems *wšyn* and *xwmn*.

405. (v) An isolated case of palatalization of *h* is provided, acc. to H., by \**yš* 'thou art' (*iš*, from \**iχ*, from \**aχi* (cf. § 432), from *ahi*).

(vi) On the Sogdian equivalents of Av. *ahr* and *əhr* when representing *r*, v. §§ 139. 141.

## METATHESIS

406. (i) Of *u* (*w*). Cf. H., BSOS ix 548 sq. (referred to, in this section, as H., loc. cit.). Metathesis of *u* (*w*) can be by replacement of a short vowel (*fsuχ* from \**frasaxw-*), or by intrusion (*δyud-* from *δuyd*). Since replacement is not found with progressive metathesis, one may consider the cases of replacement by regressive metathesis as ex-

399<sup>1</sup> [Chr. *z'q*, *Giw*].

403<sup>1</sup> An *-ah-* stem appearing with *χ* in Sogdian, is possibly B. \**zyw(h)* (*zywh* *kun-* 'to cause anxiety' VJ 218, *rt'y šy ZKh* \**zyw(h) mnt'ys* 'and his anxiety became oppressive' VJ 18<sup>d</sup> sq. 791. 1114. 1277. 1332), which acc. to H. may stand for *azax-* = Av. *qzah-*. [Cf. also \**rsy*, \**rs'ny* 'piles' P2, 37. P3, 10-12, Skt. *arśas-* (H.).]

amples of *u* (*w*) producing umlaut before dropping, similar to those where *y* was lost after palatalizing preceding vowels (§§ 183 sqq.).

In this section the examples are arranged acc. to the sounds across which *u* (*w*) has been transposed.

407. (a) Regressive.

(1) Across *β*. *wβ-* 'to be(come)', from *βw-*, v. § 792 sq., cf. BBB p. 89 on a 6 [cf. Oss. *ovin*, *ūevin*].

408. (2) Across *δ*. B. *wδ-* (*wud-*) 'wife', from *wadū-*, cf. § 506; S. *mwδ-* 'wine' Anc. Lett., from *mδw*, v. H., BSOS x 98.

409. (3) Across *θ*. S. *γwδk* 'throne' *T i a* (6) R 12,<sup>1</sup> from *γδwk* (*γāθuk*), cf. Yaghn. *γōtk* (Klimchitsky, Zap., 1937, 20).

410. (4) Across *γ*. Man. *jwxšk-*, Chr. *žwxšq-*, 'disciple', from B. *δrywšk-*, from \**driguška-*, cf. §§ 255. 285; Man. *jwy-* (light stem),<sup>1</sup> Chr. *žwy-* (in *žwym'ny* 'αὐτογράφος' i 47, 15. 48, 20, and the abstract *žwy'q* B 49, 30 (thus to be read acc. to H.)), from B. *zyw-* P 3, 39, *δryw-* VJ 1097, Chr. *žyw*, Acc.,<sup>2</sup> i 1, 75, 'severe, hard, cruel'; Man. *šryw* 'lion' (zodiacal sign) M 549 i 20, from B. *šryw*, cf. § 194 (H.).

411. (5) Across *i* (?). It is not clear whether Chr. *qwynj* is a metathesis from *qywn* 'to that' (§ 1463) as suggested by Lentz, ST ii 586 c (*kiwand* becoming *kwyand* or *kwind*), or whether both are merely different spellings of *kiwind*, cf. Man. *prywynd*, § 107.

412. (6) Across *k*. *šwkc*, Fem., 'dry', against the Masc. *škwyy* from \*(*hi*)*škuwaka-* (§ 93); for Chr., H., loc. cit. 549 fn. 1, mentions *swq-* 'to be', from Man. B. (?)*škw-*, *pcwq'd'r-* 'to speak, address', from *ptšqw'd'r-*, *pcwqyr-* 'to fear' B 49, 10, from *pcqwyr-*.

413. (7) Across *m*. Chr. *swmdr-* 'lake', Man. *swmtr-* 'ocean' (*sumdr-*), v. § 47, from *smwtr-* (*smudr-*) M 137 R 3, &c., B. *sm'wtr-*, cf. § 505, from Skt. *samudra*.

414. (8) Across *mn*. Chr. *žwmn-* (*žumn-*) 'time', from Man. *jmnw-*, v. § 512 fn.

414 a. (9) Across *n*. \**xšwundy* 'satisfied, glad', *əχšūnde* < *əχšūnte* (§ 272) < *χšnūtaka-*, Past Partc. to \**xšn'w-*,<sup>1</sup> cf. § 571 and \**xwšundy* § 416.

409<sup>1</sup> *prw γwδk prβyδ*, 2 Sg. Impf., 'sit down on the throne', cf. § 877 fn. 2.

410<sup>1</sup> *wyšn jwyty' myδnyh* "wrt nuryty šwt" 'he walks turning to and fro among the cruel ones' *T ii D 117*, 1 sq.

410<sup>2</sup> Standing for \**zyw-w*. This may also apply to the adverb *jyw* 'very much' *T ii D 117*, 22. 27, Chr. *žyw ii 5*, 24, B. *zyw* Reich. ii 63, 9. VJ 65<sup>e</sup> (v. JRAS, 1942, 99), *šryw* VJ 1332.

414 a<sup>1</sup> Thus Henning, abandoning his connexion of \**xšwundy* with B. \**γuš-* (BSOS viii 585 fn. 2) on which see § 213 fn. 1.

*zwf* < \**zafu* S.-W., 1976, 60

*kwf* < \**kafu* S.-W., 1978, 257

415. (10) Across *r*. *xwrm* 'earth, soil', from *xwrm*, v. *JRAS*, 1942, 101 (on S. *γwrum* v. § 482); S. *βwrdmy* *T ii D ii 169* (a) i V 17, Abl., *βwrdmy* [sic] ib. 11, Nom., 'vegetation', *furδ/θme*, from \**frud/θme*, from \**fra-rudma*<sup>-1</sup> (cf. § 319) + suffix *-ka-* or *-ya-*.

416. (11) Across *š*. *xwšyp* 'whip', from Av. *xšvaēpa-*, *Sogd.* p. 23 on 17. 18; B. *γwš'yp-* 'squint-eyed', from Av. *xšvaēwa-*, v. *BBB* p. 63 on 523; Man. *xwšndyy* 'satisfied, glad', *əχšnde* < *əχšunde*, v. § 414 a.

417. (12) Across *χ* (OIr. *χ* and *h*). Man. Chr. *ywxn-* 'blood', from Man. *ywn-*, B. *wyrn-* (*ux'n-* or *wux'n-*) *P* 2, 454, 476, &c., from *γwrn-*, v. §§ 209. 1168 fn.; Chr. *swxnu* 'word, speech' *ii* 5, 24. 40, from B. *sywnu*, cf. § 222; Chr. *swx'y-/swxst-* 'to take, lift', against Chr. *swx'y-*, B. *syw(y)-* (cf. § 567 fn. 1), Man. Chr. *swxst-* *T i a. ST ii* 1, 50, S. *sywst-* *X 1 ii R 1*; Chr. *ywx'y-* 'to separate', against Man. *ywx'y* 3 Sg. Impf. (§ 220); Chr. *wxst-* Past stem, 'to break', against Man. *xw'y-* Pres. stem, v. *BBB* p. 59 N° 11; B. *γwšw* 'six', from \**χšwašam*, v. H., loc. cit. 548 fn. 2;<sup>1</sup> Man. *wx'scn*<sup>2</sup> 'exhausted', against *xw'sδ* idem, *xw't* 'weak', cf. *BBB* p. 82 sq.; on final *-χw* v. § 236.

418. (13) Across *z*. *wjpp-* 'terror', from Av. *azōbā-*, v. § 377.

419. (14) Across *žāχ* in Chr. *buž'xq* 'distressed', from Chr. *bž'xwq*, v. *Lentz*, *ST ii* 580 a, and above, § 391.

420. (b) Progressive.

(1) Across *č*. B. *ptp'yn'cwj* Obl., 'refractoriness' or 'isolation', *Dhu* 34, from \**ptp'yn'wc*, cf. § 1080.

421. (2) Across *γ* (cf. H., loc. cit.). S. *δγwt-* 'daughter' *SCE* 26. *VJ* 26. 352. *T ii D* 10, from Man. *δwyt-* *M* 760, 7, S. *δwyt-* *VJ* 1009. 1135. *T ii D* 6. 7. 15; S. *γwδ-* 'Sogdian', v. *Freiman*, *Sbornik*, 33 sqq., *Intox. Sūtra* 37, *Sogd.* 61, 25, from *swγδ-* *Anc. Lett.*; Chr. *γwδ'r-*, Pret., 'to speak', from Chr. *γwδ'r-*, from Man. *wytwδ'r-* (§ 167), cf. *Lentz*, *ST ii* 584 a; Chr. *γwrt'y* 'awake, watchful', from Man. *wγrt'y*, v. § 215; Chr. *γwš-*, B. *γwš-*, 'to rejoice', from Man. B. *wγš-*, v. § 213 fn. 1; Chr. *γw'm n'fc* 'guest' *i* 24, 8 sq. 25, 18, from

415<sup>1</sup> H. compares Av. *uruθman-*, *°mi-*, *°mya-*. Cf. also Man. *βwrd* 'growth, plant', v. *BBB* s.v., from \**abi-rauda-*.

417<sup>1</sup> \**χšwašam* became, through dissimilatory loss of the first *š*, \**χwašu*, *χušu* (= Chr. *xwšw*, cf. the place-name *خشمون* 'the six temples' (H.), *Barthold*, *Turkestan*, 126 sq.), then, through metathesis, *uxšu* (cf. *Yidgha uzšo*, *Yagh.* *uzš*, referred to by *Gauthiot*, *MSL* xvii 154), finally, with svarabhakti vowel (§ 482), *uxšu*.

417<sup>2</sup> If not borrowed from Parth. *wx's-*.

Chr. *wγ'm n'fc* *i* 81, 16, B. *γw'm Sogd.* 60, 14, S. *wγ[']m Anc. Lett.* iii 7 (*wγām*, 'foreign, remote country', from \**wi-gāma-* (v. § 214) ? On *n'fc* v. § 1003 fn.). [v. *Add.* p. 308.]

422. (3) Across \**h* in *xw'qr* 'merchant', from \**wahākara-*, v. § 392; *rtxwšt*, N. of the 3rd element, from \**artuhāšt*, v. § 392.

423. (4) Across *k*. *šmnkw'nc*, Fem., 'devilish', from *šmnwq'ny*, Masc., v. H., loc. cit.; *yčqw-* 'bridge', from \**haituka-*, cf. § 518; B. *γw'rδkw* 'sincere' *SCE* 62. *Dhy* 134. 194, *γw'rδkw* Obl., *Sogd.* 60, 9, against Man. *i* 'rδwky' 'sincerity' *M* 664, 16, v. § 154; B. *βz'γkwstr* 'more wretchedly' *Dhy* 41, against B. *βyz'γwk* (§ 391), cf. H., loc. cit.; B. *cškw-* 'tear', from \**asruka-*, v. § 371; B. *yntk'w* 'Indian' *Intox. Sūtra* 37, S. *yntkw* Pl., *Anc. Lett.* ii 37, from \**hinduka-*, cf. MPers. *hindūg*; S. *m'nkw* 'similar', from *m'nwk*, cf. *BBB* p. 103 on f 52; B. *nz'nkwy* 'upon one's knees' *T iii S* 313, 3, from *nz'nwk-* *VJ* passim; *ykw* 'eternally', from \**āyu-ka-na-* (H.).

424. (5) Across *r*. *xwrmz[t]βγγy* (§ 73 fn.), from *xwrmzβγγy*.

425-6. (6) Across *s*. Man. *x(s)[w]ndty'h* 'happiness, contentment' *T ii D* 66 c 7, Chr. *xswnty* *i* 73, 9, from Man. *xwsndy*, cf. § 338.

427. (7) Across *t*. Chr. *qtwr* 'descendant' *ii* 1, 66, from *qwt*, borrowed from Skt. *gotra*, cf. also § 483 fn.

428. (8) Across *χ*. Man. *xwšy* 'increase' (H.) *M* 896, 20. *M* 765 d 8, B. *γwš'y-* 'to grow' *P* 2, 358 sq., from *waxš-* 'to grow'; Man. *xwštr-* 'camel' (§ 517), from \**uxštra-*, v. § 257; B. *γγws-* 'to learn' *SCE* 536, Past stem *γγwt-* *VJ* 310. 796, from S. *γwys-* *X 1 i V* 5, Past stem S. *γwyt-* ib. *R* 22, Man. *ywx-*, cf. H., loc. cit.; B. *γwšn-* 'luminous', from Man. Chr. *rwšn-*.

429. (9) Across *ya* in *fšy'ws* 'gentleman', from Av. *fšuyas*, v. § 311.

430. (ii) Metathesis of *i*, *e* (regressive).

(1) Derivatives from OIr. *dwi-* 'two', became first *δvi-* (§ 239), then *div-* (cf. *Gauthiot*, *MSL* xvii 145): the ordinals Man. *δβty-*, B. *δβty-*, *δyβty-*, v. §§ 1334-6, and Man. S. *δβtyk*, Chr. *dbtyq*; Man. B. *δyβnw*, B. *δβnw*, 'both', v. §§ 1316. 1320; B. *δyβzβ'k* 'double-tongued' *SCE* 442; B. *δyβp'δ'kw* 'biped' *VJ* 1177.

431. (2) *θvi* from OIr. *θwi*, has become *θiv* in Man. *δyβtyy* 'scattered', v. § 293.

432-3. (3) OIr. *ahmi* 'I am' became *ym* (cf. also § 399), *ahi* 'thou art' became *yš* (cf. § 405). These can, of course, be considered as cases of palatalization, cf. § 133.

434. (iii) Metathesis of *i*, *ē* (regressive). *pyšt* 'but, and, then', from \**pašit*, v. § 373; the suffix B. *-yck* from *-cyk*, v. § 1013; Chr. *nyšyd'r-* (*nīšdār-*),<sup>1</sup> Trans. Pret., 'to plant', i 19, 15, from *nāšidār-*, cf. Chr. *nšyd(t)r-* ii 3, 28. 34 (H.). A metathesis interfered with the normal development of *ai* > *ē* in Chr. *bywny*, Pl. *bywnyt*, 'prophet', *bywnqy* 'prophecy', Man. *bywnyt* Pl., M 286 ii 13, adverb *bywn* 'foreseeingly' M 264A 18, if from \**abi-waina-(ka-)*, cf. Parth. *frwyn-* 'to foresee'<sup>2</sup> (H.).

435. (iv) Metathesis of *n*.

(1) Regressive. Man. *fns'x* (*fansāx*) 'parasang' T ii D 116, 26. 31, from B. *βs'ny* (*afsānχ*), from \**frasānχa-* (H.), cf. § 338 on *fs'x*, § 236 on *fsux*; B. *nns* 'nose', from \**nasn-*, from \**nāsn-*, v. § 946 (and § 338 on Man. *ns*); B. *yns-* 'stinking', from Man. B. *yns-*, v. § 496; Man. *wxš-* 'to deliver' (§ 809), from Man. \**wxš-* (3 Sg. Impf. *wyxnš*, BBB p. 55 top), v. § 343.

436. (2) Progressive. Chr. *wxšn-* 'to deliver', from Man. \**wxšn-*, and Chr. *pxšn-* 'to retreat', from B. *py'nš-*, v. § 343; B. *βr'men-* 'to undress', from \**frāmūnš-*, v. § 327.

437. (v) Metathesis of *r*.

(1) *fra-* becoming *far-*. Man. Chr. *frtr*, B. *prtr*, 'before',<sup>1</sup> special,<sup>2</sup> more,<sup>3</sup> rather,<sup>4</sup> better',<sup>5</sup> with the abstract suffix *-yā* Man. Chr. *frtry* 'increase, furtherance, improvement' ST ii 6, 46. M 135 ii 15. M 563, 8. &c., S. *prtry'kh* T M 389 a R 17. 30. a R 34, comparative *frtrstr*,<sup>6</sup> v. § 1290: *fartar*,<sup>7</sup> from Av. *fratarā-*.<sup>8</sup> On *frwyny* v. § 473.

434<sup>1</sup> Provided the reading is correct, being at variance with the one in ST ii.

434<sup>2</sup> \**abiwaina-* > *βuain-* > *βiayn-* > *βiōn-*. The difficulty lies with the preverb, since Av. *abi-waēna-* means 'to look, to notice'. On the other hand, this is just the meaning required for the 3 Sg. Impf. B. *βywn* VJ 820 (thus correctly read by Gauthiot), which H. connects with the word for 'prophet'. *βy'wn-* occurs in two unpublished B. fragments: *ywn'yδ'γw* 'δβγ *βy'(w)[n-* (1), 'the supreme god at once...' (cf. the VJ passage quoted), T iii § 23 (2) i 1, *rt'y r'm'nt γw βy'wn'y* [, 'and always the prophet' or 'and always he may foresee (or notice)', T ii T (2) 7.

437<sup>1</sup> B. *βprtr* *prtr* 'le tout premier' SCE 527. 538.

437<sup>2</sup> S. *prtry* adv., 'especially', BBB p. 100 on e 8, line 3.

437<sup>3</sup> Man. *cw frtr* 'i' 'whatever else there may be in addition (or afterwards)' BBB p. 101 on e 12; Chr. *nyšt žwzš[gy]* *qf frtr by cn xypθ xwšty* 'οὐκ ἐστι μανητής ἰνὲρ τὸν διδασκαλόν' i 8, 10 sq.

437<sup>4</sup> B. *prtr* ... *c'n'kw* 'rather ... than', v. § 1692.

437<sup>5</sup> S. *rt'y [cnn]* *c'β' prtr* 'dy L' *β(w)[t]* 'nobody is better than thou' T i a (6) R 2 sq.; Man. *frtr c'nw* 'better than', v. § 1308; Chr. *[cn yr]* *f syctyfy frtr* 'yδp šm'a 'πολλὸν σπουδίων διαφέρετ ἐμείς' i 10, 11.

437<sup>6</sup> *frtr qty*, ST ii 1, 82 sq. is to be read *frty qty* 'have passed' (H.).

437<sup>7</sup> B. *prtr* possibly stands for *partar*. Cf. NPers. *fardā*, from \**fratāka-*, with Khot. *paḍā*, from \**partāka-*, Bailey, *Zor. Probl.* 179 fn. 1.

437<sup>8</sup> The assumption of this metathesis seems necessary because otherwise one would expect OIr. *fratarā-* to become a light stem *fiar-*, cf. *fiām-* from *fratama-*, § 318. [Cf. OPers. *fratarā* 'more, rather' TPS 1948, 66 sq.]

438. (2) *frā-* becoming *fār-* (H.): Man. *f'rmyc* 3 Sg. Impf., 'to undress' M 133, 96, cf. B. *βr'mc*, § 334.

439. (3) *dr* becoming *rδ* (on *dr* becoming *ž* v. § 285). B. *rδ'spt* Pl., *Dhy* 98, *rδ'yšp* T iii § 2 i 6, 'banner', from Av. *drašša-* (cf. also § 441), v. Benv., *Notes* ii 224; Man. *rδyf-* M 141 R, B. *rδ'yp-* SCE 496, 'to shine', B. *rδ'yp* SCE 76, *rδ'yp'kh* SCE 495, S. *rδ'yp* T M 389 a R 6, 'splendour', from \**drāfaya-*, cf. Man. *wydrfš-* \*'to blaze', § 1033, Parth. *drfš-*, v. *Mir. Man.* iii 899 top (H.);<sup>1</sup> S. *rδnk Anc. Lett.*, 'safe, fortified', from *drang-*, cf. *dramga* in the Rājatarāṅgī and Kharoṣṭhi Documents, as 'fortified post' and something like 'safe', v. Burrow, *BSOS* vii 509 sq. (H.). [Cf. *BSOAS* xii 605 n. 4.]

440. (4) *θr* becoming *rθ* (on *θr* becoming *š* v. § 299). *p'rδ* (*pārθ*) 'watch' *Sogd.* 25, 21 (v. comment.), from B. *p'δr* 'service' SCE 544, beside Man. B. *p'š* M 116 R 5. SCE 491. 521; B. *c'rδ'p'δw* VJ 1178, *cyrδp'δw* VJ 1484, 'quadruped', from Av. *čaθru-*, v. Benv., *Grammaire*, ii 104; Man. *wysp'rδyy* 'everywhere', v. BBB p. 70 on 565, from \**wispaθra*,<sup>1</sup> cf. Skt. *viśvatra* (H.), cf. also B. *nyš*, § 299; S. *mrδp'r* 'here' (§ 1116), *marθ* from \**imaθra*, *wrδ* 'there' HR ii 97, 7. T ii D 63 c 7. &c., *ōrθ* (cf. § 83 fn.) from Av. *avaθra* (on further developments cf. §§ 301. 461), *kwrd* 'where' (§ 1581) from *kuθra*. On S. *myδry* v. §§ 185. 507.

441. (vi) Other metatheses.

(1) *fš* becoming *šf* (*šp*). B. *rδ'yšp* 'banner', from *drašša*, cf. § 439; Man. *šfr* 'shame' M 135 i 58, B. *šβ'r* *Vim* 87. SCE 294, *šβ'rm'y* 'pudenda' SCE 127, Chr. *šfrs-* 'to be ashamed' i 20, 6. 42, 4, B. *šβ'rs-* P 2, 654, from *fšar-*, cf. Benv., *MSL* xxiii 403 sqq.

442. (2) *tf* becoming *ft* in B. *cβ'rmyk* 'fourth' P 2, 326, from *ctβ'rmyk*.

443. (3) *δšcyy*, *dyšcy*, N. of the 15th day, from *dašti* (v. § 276), from *dašši*, from \**daθši* (cf. § 301), from Av. *daθušō* (§ 402), cf. also § 109 (v. H., *Orientalia*, viii 91 fn. 1).

444. (4) *δrjyy*, *δrjy'wr*, 'heart', \**drz-* from *zrd-*, v. § 182.

(5) B. *γwtm*, *γwt'm*, 'relative', from Chr. *twxm-* 'seed, family' (cf. § 127), v. BBB p. 89 bottom.

445. (6) B. *nβγγ* Acc., DN 8, *nβγω* Acc., DN 70, 'excellent', against *nγβy* Acc., SCE 47 'aimable', *nγwβy* Nom., *Dhy* 153, *nγwβ'w'k*, abstract, 'excellence', *Dhy* 109. 180 (H.).

439<sup>1</sup> Differently Reichelt, *ZII* iv 247 (*rδ'yp-*, from *aθra* + *tāpaya-*).

440<sup>1</sup> Now recognized by H. in *Anc. Lett.* *wyspδr*, cf. BBB p. 73 (not 'prince').

446. (7) B. *myδβ*- 'minister' (§ 509), from Parth. *mgbyd*, cf. H., *Sogd.* p. 22 on 11, and Tedesco, *BSL* xxiii 113.

447. (8) Chr. *fwx'r* 'blissful', from MPers. *fwrw*, v. *BBB* p. 89 bottom.

## OTHER SECONDARY CHANGES

### Assimilation

448. (1) *m* becoming *n* before *k* (which in its turn becomes *g*, v. § 245), in the ending of the 1 Sg. Pres. *-am*, when followed by the verbal particle *-q'* (becoming *-g'*), cf. Chr. *prycng'*, *šwng'*, &c., v. Salemann, *Izv.*, 1913, 1141.

449. (2) *n* becoming *m* before *p* (which in its turn becomes *b*, v. § 304, and is sometimes lost, v. § 453). *δβ'mbn*, *δβ'mpn*, 'lady, wife', from Av. *damañō.paθnī*- (§ 300); *tmb'r* 'body', from *\*tanu-pāra*.

450. (3) *s* becoming *š*. Man. Chr. *wyšpšy(yh)* 'prince', from *\*wispaše*, cf. B. *wyspyδr'k*, from *\*wispuθraka*-, v. *BBB* p. 73; B. *špšh* 'louse' *SCE* 365, from Av. *spiš*-, cf. Morgenstierne, *IIFL* ii 247 b; Man. *šnyš*- 'to snow', v. § 807, from *\*šnēž*- (v. § 452), from Av. *snaēža*- (H.); *šyškyy* 'drop, tear', from *\*šyskyy*, from Av. *sraska*-, cf. § 371.

451. (4) *z* becoming *ž* in Man. *jyšt*-, Chr. *žyšt*-, 'hated', cf. *BBB* p. 77 on 633, originally Past stem from *\*zais*-, cf. Av. *zōišnu*-, *zōiždišta*-, Parth. *zys*- 'to hate', NPers. *zišt* (H.).<sup>1</sup>

452. (5) *ž* becoming *š* by assimilation to the initial *š*- in *šnyš*-, v. § 450.

### Assimilatory loss

453. (i) Of *b* after *m*. Chr. *'mst* 'it fell', from *'mpst*, v. Lentz, *ST* ii 575 b; Chr. *db'mn*, *b'mn*<sup>1</sup> (v. *ST* ii 579 a), S. *δβ'mn* *ST* i 87, 25. *Anc. Lett. (Doc.)* x 17, from Man. *δβ'mbn* (§ 300); B. *pδ'wm*-, Pres. stem, 'to stick together' *P* 7, 82, from *\*dumb*-, root *\*dub*- (H.), cf. the Inchoative *pδwβs*- and the verbal noun *'δwβ*, in *y'r* *'δwβ pδwβ(s)* 3 Sg. Impf., 'she fastened a quarrel' *Man. Lett.* i 30 (on the Inchoative v. also § 827); Chr. *t'm'r* 'body', from *tmb'r*, v. Lentz, *ST* ii 598 a.

454. (ii) Of *d* before *z*. Man. *mndzprt* 'impure' *BBB* 583, Chr. id., ii 3, 48, from Man. *mndzprt* *BBB* f 58, Chr. *mntzprt'y* 'rubbish' ii 4,

451<sup>1</sup> With this word a further assimilation to the sibilant in the following syllable took place, acc. to H., *BBB* p. 75 on 606, in *šyšt'rw'ndy*, from *jyšt'rw'ndy* 'Bösseeligkeit'. *šyšt*-, however, could also be the Past stem of Chr. B. *šš*- 'to disperse', cf. § 540 c, hence *šyšt'rw'n* = 'scatter-brain'.

453<sup>1</sup> *b*- instead of *db*- by analogy to *bāmbušt*, v. *Sogd.* 17 sq.

33; Chr. *tryz'y* 'oppressed, compelled', from Man. *trytz'y*, v. *BBB* p. 60 on 510.

On *d* lost before *s* v. § 460; before *δ*, v. § 457.

455. (iii) Of *δ* after *θ*. S. *knδβr* 'town-gate' *P* 13, 2, *knδβrty* Pl. Obl., *VJ* 43 (*kanθvar*, from *kanθ+δvar*-), v. Reichelt, *ZII* iv 247.

456. (iv) Of *t*.

(1) Before *θ*. Man. *prwyrδδ*, 2 Pl. Subj. from *prwyr*- 'to cause to become' (*parwerθ* from *\*parwertθ*), v. *BBB* p. 104 on f 53-4.

457. (2) Before *δ*. In the Chr. Trans. Pret., the final *t* or *d* of the Past stem (also with light stems, cf. § 167) is lost before *-δār*.<sup>1</sup> In Man. only *xwrδr*- 'to eat' *M* 107 i 50, and *n'wδr*- 'to shake (one's head)', v. *BBB* p. 55, have been noticed.

(3) Before *s*, v. § 461 sq.

458. (v) Of *z* before *ž*. B. *βrzw'n'y* 'long-lived' *SCE* 107. 503, from *βrzzw'n'y* *SCE* 167 (*varžuwāne* from *varz-žuwāne*).

On *z* lost before *s*, v. § 465.

459. (vi) Some consonants and consonantic groups have disappeared in secondary contact with a following *s*. Sometimes several stages of the reduction are attested.

(1) *čādarsār* 'downwards', Man. B. *c'δr s'r* *M* 674, 25. *M* 880, 6. *VJ* 821. 829. 1304, > *\*c'δs'r* > *c's'r* *M* 134 ii R 11. *Man. Lett.* i 26 (H.); *c'δrstr*, comparative, 'under, below' *M* 178 ii R 12. *V* 15, > *c'str* *T* i *D*.

460. (2) *čindarsār* 'inside, into, in', B. *cntrs'r* > *\*cnts'r* > Chr. *cyns* and Man. *cyts'r*, v. *BBB* p. 74 on 601.

461. (3) *martsār* 'here', *ōrtsār* 'there', Man. B. *mrt's'r*, B. *'wrt's'r* (v. §§ 301. 440) > Chr. *mc'*, *'wc'* (*matsā*, *ōtsā*, § 71), v. Lentz, *ST* ii

457<sup>1</sup> Thus always in *ST* i, with the notable exception of *kθār*-, v. § 279. If the notation in *ST* ii of *δ*, *t*, *θ*, were not in such a hopeless state of confusion, one could see whether this change of *tδ* into *θ* had taken place with other verbs as well. Here is a list of the Chr. Preterites in *ST* ii (including those where *-δār* has been added directly to the Pres. stem, cf. § 877 fn. 1), whereby *t* stands for Tau (*θ*) and *†* for Teth (*t*), acc. to Henning's system.

*d*: *'šp'dr*-, *brd'r*-, *by'pd'r*-, *fšmd'r*-, *štypd'r*-, *xryd'r*-, *zsd'r*-, *γwd'r*-, (*wy'd'r*-, *xwsd'r*-, *q'md'r*-, *pcwq'd'r*-, (*pšqwd'r*-, *prbyrd'r*-, *pryjd'r*-, *pšd'r*-, *pšt'd'r*-, *płwysd'r*-, *pyzd'r*-, *tbrd'r*-, *wryd'r*-, *wy'd'r*-, *wy'd'sd'r*-, *žyrd'r*-,

*t*: *'wst'r*-, *xwšt'r*-, *qt'r*-, *pcyl'r*-, *szwst'r*-, *tqwšt'r*-,

*†*: *'wyz†r*-, *pš†r*-,

*d* and *†*: *nšyd'r*-, *nšy†r*-,

*d* and *t*: *pryjd'r*-, *pry†r*-,

*t* and *†*: *ptywšt'r*-, *ptyw†r*-,

*d*, *†*, and *t*: *'yšd'r*-, *'yš†r*-, *'yšt'r*-,

587 c, S. 'wts'r *T* i a (10. 106)<sup>1</sup> > Chr. *ms*', Man. Chr. 'ws' *M* 127 V 12. *ST* i 52, 4 (thus correctly Benveniste, against Lentz, loc. cit.).

462. (4) *katskande* 'destroyed', S. *ktsknt*'k > Chr. *qsqntly*, v. § 365 fn.

463. (5) \**bykstr*, comparative of *byk*, > Man. *bystr* 'outside, away' *T* ii D 116, 22, Chr. *bysr* i 26, 5; Man. B. *byks'r* > Chr. *bys* i 70, 13. 14.

464. (6) The group *nčk* disappears in Man. *ryst*r 'smaller', if this is from \**rynckstr*, v. § 1288 fn.

465. (7) The ending \*-āzsk of some durative Preterits has become -āsk, v. § 645; the comparative \**δvanzstar* became *δvanstar*, v. § 1290.

### Dissimilation

466. (1) *m* becoming *v*. *δβ'mbn* 'lady, wife' (§ 300), from \**δmām-ban*.<sup>1</sup> [v. Addenda.]

467. (2) *n* becoming *r* (doubtful). *sprync* 'of iron' (?), from *spnync*, v. *Sogd.* p. 32 on 5.

468. (3) *p* becoming *f* (*v*) in *ptfs-/ptβs-* 'to read', cf. §§ 52. 145, from \**p(a)t-pas-*, with dissimilation to the initial *p* (H.).

469. (4) *r* becoming *γ* (doubtful). Man. *βwyt'rmykt*, adj., Pl., 'patient' *M* 378, 13 (v. § 1246), S. *βwyt'rmykt* *T* *M* 389 a V 13, from \**βwrt'rmyk* in *βwrt'rmyky* 'patience'.<sup>1</sup> [Cf. Oss. *bixsin*.]

470. (5) *t* becoming *p*. \**rt'wspy'h* 'righteousness, community of the electi', *δyn'rtwspy*, idem, S. \**rt'w'spy'kyh* *T* *M* 389 a V 19, B. \**rtwspy'y* *Vim* 90, \**rt'w'spy* *Dhu* 275. 295, \**rt'w'spy* *SCE* 555, \**rt'w'spy* *Dhu* 265 'justice, dharma' (v. B. Geiger, *WZKM* 41, 112 sq.), from \**artawasta-* (cf. Av. *ašavasta-*) + abstract suffix -*yā*,<sup>1</sup> cf. Baluči *gidisp* 'span' from Av. *vitasti-*, Greek *Υδάσσης* from Skt. *vitastā* (H.).

471. (6) *θ* becoming *t* (doubtful). Chr. *ftm'd'r-* 'to blow' (§ 318), if one may assume the existence of a form of transition \**fθmāt-*.

### Dissimilatory loss

472. (1) Of *k*. Man. (?) *wj'k* *M* 122, 3, Turk. *užak*, from Man. *wjk'k* 'letter of the alphabet', v. *BBB* p. 65; *qtsndy* 'destruction' *BBB* 521, from S. *ktsknt'k*, v. § 365 fn.

461<sup>1</sup> Cf. B. *kwt's'r* 'where' > B. \**kwt's'r*, v. § 1534. [Chr. *qwc*, *Giw.* 159.]

466<sup>1</sup> Beside *δβ'm-* we still have Man. *δm'n* 'dwelling place' *Kaw.* V 3, *δm'n* *M* 133, 42, *ruwzēn'yrδmn* 'paradise' *M* 178 i passim, from Av. *raozēna-* + *garō damāna-* (cf. § 121), and \**wδm'ndy*, § 351.

469<sup>1</sup> The form with *γ* is, acc. to H., a pun on *βwty* 'delivered (souls)'.

470<sup>1</sup> B. *artawaspe* would be a possible outcome of \**artawastyā*, Man. B. *artawaspyd* of \**artawastyākā*.

473. (2) Of *r*. Man. *fīrwyny* (*fatarūne*) 'increase, advantage' (*prw fīrwyny* *M* 399, 13 'πόσῳ μᾶλλον' (H.)), from *fīr*r (*fatar*),<sup>1</sup> cf. § 437; *pryβy* 'cloud', from \**pari-abra*, v. § 202. Cf. also § 322.

473 a. (3) Of *s*. S. \**wptsδ* 'you have fallen' (cf. § 868), *ōpatasθ* < \**ōpastasθ*, v. H., *JRAS*, 1944, 138, 13.

474. (4) Of *š*. B. *wγwšw* 'six', from \**χwašu*, from \**χšwašam*, v. § 417 fn. 1.

### Haplogy

475. (1) Of *ān*. Man. *wyncyk* 'visible' *T* ii D 117, 28, from *wyn'ncyk* (?), cf. § 1018; *m'k'nd* (*mākand*) *M* 118 i V 5, from \**māka-nand*, 3 Pl. Impf. from *ākan-* 'to fill' (H.); Chr. *wng* (*wangā*) 'I shall do' i 42, 3. 4, from *wanangā*, cf. § 448; B. *cnsty* 'completely' *VJ* 39<sup>a</sup>. 722. &c., from *cn'nstty* *SCE* 124, B. *cnnsty* *T* iii Š 23 (3) ii 4; B. *cn'nty* *P* 2, 69, *cn'nty* ib. 43, 'completely', *čanay(a)te* from \**čananyate* (though possibly directly from *čan+ay(a)te*, cf. § 335); *ptz'nd* *M* 178 i V 10, corresponding to *ptz'n'nt* in another copy of the same text, *T* ii D 139, 11, 3 Pl. Pres. from *patzān-* 'to recognize', cf. § 1006 fn.

(2) Of *na*. \**fryny* Pres. Partc. Pl., 'blessing, praising', *M* 264 A 23, from \**āfrinane* (H.), cf. Chr. *sfrjny* 'creator' ii 3, 13; \**nwysn[y]yt* Pres. Partc. Pl., 'to make enter, to initiate', *M* 134 i R 4, from \**nwysn-*, v. § 547;<sup>1</sup> Chr. *wyny* i 67, 8. 15. 17, Pres. Partc. from *wyn-* 'to see'; B. *yr'yn'k* 'buyer' *P* 2, 775, < \**χrinane* (H.).

476. (3) Of *and*. B. \**nkr'nt* 'they cut' *SCE* 183, from \**nkr'nt'nt* *SCE* 223.

477. (4) Of *ai*, in the 3 Sg. Opt. (ending -*ai*) of Present stems in B. -*y(-āy-)*,<sup>1</sup> cf. *γw'y* 'he should pound' (inst. of \**γw'y'y*) *Frg.* iii 63, *γw'y*, \**γw'y* 'he should take', ib. 51. 52, *nw'y* 'he should walk', v. *BBB* p. 55, &c.

478. (5) Of *ta*, in Chr. *šts* '18', *štas*, from \**štatas*, from \**aštadasa*, with assimilation of *d* to *t* [or *d(a)s* > *s*, cf. §§ 459 sqq.].

479-480. (6) Of *ya*. Man. *ny'wr*, B. \**ny'wr* 'autrefois' (§ 85 fn.), from \**ny'+y'wr*, v. Benv., *Grammaire*, 157.

### Other reductions

481. Chr. *dsprtr* 'towel', from \**δast-partar*, v. Benv., *Notes* iii 228, H., *BBB* p. 74 fn.; the Lunar Mansions Man. *frwzxpδ* and S. *šwšk*, from Skt. *proṣṭhapada* and S. \**štrwšk* respectively, v. Henning, *JRAS*, 1942, 242 fn. 1.

473<sup>1</sup> Chr. *fīrwyny* *B* 49, 23, is possibly to be read *fīrwyny*.

475<sup>1</sup> Possible is, of course, the restoration \**nwysn[n]yt*.

477<sup>1</sup> In Man. writing, where the ending -*ai* is expressed by -*y*, the spelling with one final *y* or with two, is of no significance in view of § 76 fn. 1.

## Svarabhakti vowels

482. (1) *u*. S. *sywtm'n* 'all' *T M* 389 a R 14, from *sytm'n* (*saydmān*); S. *γwrum* 'earth, soil' (H.) *T iii* 263 i 8, from *χurm* or *χrum*, v. § 415; B. *wγwšw* 'six', from *\*uχšu*, v. § 417 fn. 1; B. *\*škrwβ* 'stumbling', from *\*škarf*, v. § 366; Man. *krwš* 3 Sg. Impf., 'to trace', from *\*karš*, v. *BBB* p. 102 top.

(2) A few cases of anaptyctic *i* have been mentioned under § 179.

483. (3) *a* (ə). B. *\*γwšt'ry* *VJ* 416. 13<sup>c</sup>, *\*γwšt'r'yh* *VJ* 86, 'camel', from *χušt'r*, v. § 517;<sup>1</sup> B. *βz'ysty*, 3 Sg. Pret. 'he decamped' *P* 2, 200, *vžyasti* < *vžyasti*, cf. § 376, and the curious S. *w'c'γδ'nt*, § 263 fn. 1.

## THE RHYTHMIC LAW

484. (i) Definition. The preservation or loss of the OIr. vocalic endings is governed by a rhythmic law discovered by Tedesco (cf. *ZII* iv 102). In a slightly modified form, this law can be formulated as follows:

Given the alterations of OIr. words which the phonetic changes peculiar to Sogdian have brought about, stems with not more than one brief vowel (not counting prothetic or svarabhakti vowels) are light, except when this vowel is *in positione*, viz. followed by *mb*, *χw*, or by a group of consonants beginning with *n*<sup>1</sup> or *r*; all other stems are heavy. Heavy stems lose their vocalic endings, while light stems preserve them.

## 485. (ii) Remarks.

(1) A brief vowel followed by *r* and a consonant, is not *in positione*, if the brief vowel and *r* jointly represent an OIr. *r* vowel (cf. § 137). Cf., e.g. *mry* 'wood, meadow', *mary* (§ 530), corresponding to Av. *marəyā-*, NPers. *mary*, heavy, against *mry-* 'bird', *mə'γ-*, corresponding to Av. *mərəyā-*, NPers. *mury*, light, or *γrβ* 'many', pronounced *γarv*, heavy, against *γrβ-* 'to know', *γə'v-* from *grb-*, light. *r*

It is the same when the brief vowel is expressed by *y* or *w*. We read *wi'k-* for the light stem *wyrk-* 'wolf' from *\*wřka-*, but *nirk* or *nerk* for the heavy *nyrk* 'male' from *naryaka-*; the light stem *purn-* 'full' from *\*prna-*, is to be read as *pu'n-*. It has been seen in §§ 144-51 that such an *r* which goes back to *r*, was often lost.

486. (2) This rule is useful for determining the nature of *r* in cases of doubt. Here are some examples.

(a) From the fact that the Past stems *βrt-* (§ 879), *δβrt-* (§§ 879.

483<sup>1</sup> Not necessarily Sogdian is the svarabhakti vowel of S. *ku'r* *Sogd.* 64, 13, against B. *ku'tr* *Vim* 108. *Frg* iii 6, Man. *ku'tr*, *qu'tr*, passim, from Skt. *gotra*, cf. Khot. *gūtaira*, Bailey, *JRAS*, 1942, 22.

484<sup>1</sup> [On *ny-* v. § 85.]

927), *\*škr-* (§ 879), are treated as heavy stems, it appears that they are secondary formations *vart-*, *θvart-*, *aškart-*, which have replaced the original *brta*,<sup>1</sup> &c.<sup>2</sup>

487. (b) The distribution of the forms belonging to the base *par-*, as proposed in *BBB* p. 89 on 763, cf. above, § 148, should be revised in so far as it is B. *ptw* which goes back to *přt-*, while *pwrc* 'debt', borrowed by Turk. *borğ*, v. *Sogd.* 66 top, must have had *hochstufe*, since it is heavy; it could represent a metathesis from *\*partu-* + suffix *-č*.

488. (c) Chr. B. *γurs* '(a)round' i 19, 15 (cf. H., *Sogd.* p. 57 on 27). *SCE* 299. *DN* 10. 58, being heavy, cannot contain *r*. H. suggests a metathesis from *\*garsu-* (from *\*gart-su-*).

489. (d) That *mrc* 'death' represents Av. *ma(h)rka-* (cf. § 249) with *-ar-*, and not Av. *mərati-* with *r*, is shown by its being heavy.

490. (e) On the other hand, *γγ'rt-* 'wide' (§ 518), being light, must contain *r*. H. suggests connecting it with the Past Partc. B. *\*ny'rtk* 'prosperous, fertile', v. *Sogd.* p. 30 on 6, hence *γγ'rt-* from *\*wi-gřta-*.

491. (f) Amongst words of unclear origin, *krj* 'miracle' reflects *-ar-*, *mrx-* 'straight, flat' should contain *r*.

492. (3) If a light stem, ending in an originally consonantic *r* preceded by a short vowel, comes into contact with an ending beginning with *t*, the short vowel is brought into position. This does not usually affect the treatment of such stems as light stems, but it helps to explain why the Plural of *rwr-* 'medicinal plant' (Sg. Man. *rwr*, B. *rwrh*) appears as *rwr't*, *rwr'tt*, in *M* 568, 1. 10. *Man. Lett.* i 19. Cf. also in B. the 3 Sg. Pres. *βrt* *VJ* 1069. *SCE* 95. 195 (against Man. *βrty*, v. § 515), *δβ'rt* *SCE* 111 (against Man. *δβrty* *M* 583 ii R 1. *T* ii D 267, 6, B. *δβ'rty* *VJ* 11<sup>c</sup>. 492. 556), *škr't* *SCE* 267 (against Man. *škrtyy* *M* 127 V 14, Chr. *šqrtyq'n* ii 6, 44 sq., B. *\*škrty* *\*skwn* *VJ* 1091. 1304), *γwrt* *SCE* 30 (against *γwrtly* *k'm* *VJ* 1089).

(4) The group *rn* with a spurious *r*, does not make position, cf. (y) *χu'n-*, § 513.

486<sup>1</sup> *brta-* turns up in the light-stem Preterite B. *βwrtw* *δ'r-* (*vu'tu* *dār-*), *Intox. Sūtra* 36 sq., in tmesis: *\*r'ys't* *ZY* *ny* *\*δ'kh* *βwrtw* *ZY* *cnywcm'ny* *ptškw't* *δ'rt*, i.e. *\*r'ys't* *δ'rt* *ZY* *ny* *\*δ'kh* *βwrtw* *δ'rt* *ZY* *cnywcm'ny* *ptškw't* *δ'rt*, 'he wished and offered prayer and implored from the depth of his heart'.

486<sup>2</sup> The Past stem Man. *ptšmrt-*, B. *ptšmyrt-*, 'to think, count', is treated as heavy in the Infinitive *ptšmrt* (§ 928) and the 3 Sg. Pass. Pret. *ptšmyrt* (§ 865), but in this case it is possible that the lack of the vocalic ending is due to a disyllabic pronunciation *pačmər't* (cf. *pačaxš-*, § 176). Man. *ptšmyrtlyt* *M* 134 ii



493. (5) Light stems ending in *y* or *w* lose their quality as light stems when an ending or suffix beginning with a consonant is added; in that case the *y* or *w* coalesces with the preceding brief vowel into a long vowel (or, if there is no vowel, becomes syllabic as a long vowel).<sup>1</sup>

494. (a) Stems ending in *y*. (°)ny- 'other' from *anya-*, *fry-* 'dear' from *friya-*, have the usual light-stem endings in the Singular, but the Plural of 'ny- (apart from B. 'ny', § 1205) is in all three dialects (°)nyt (cf. § 85 fn.), the Plural of *fry-*, Chr. *fryt* (§ 1251; *fryyt* also in Man., *M* 894 i 2, in unclear context), the comparative, Man. *frytr*, the superlative, S. *pryt* (§ 1207); the Pres. stem *sy-* 'to show, appear' has B. (°)sy' ((°)s(a)ya) for the 2 Sg. Impt. and 3 Sg. Impf., but Man. *syyt* (*sit*, *sēt*, or *sait*) for the 3 Sg. Pres., v. § 550.

495. (b) Stems ending in *w*. *šw-* 'to go' has the 2 Sg. Impt. and 3 Sg. Impf. *šw* (§(a)wa), but the 3 Sg. Pres. *šut* (*šōt* or *šaut*); *βw-* 'to be(come)', 3 Sg. Pres. *βut* (*vōt*), 2 Sg. Impt. and 3 Sg. Impf. *wβ* from \**bawa* (cf. § 407); *žuw-* 'to live', 3 Sg. Pres. Man. *jūt* (*žūt*), v. § 574.

496. (6) Once the rhythmic value of a stem is established, it is usually no longer affected by secondary changes. Thus we have B. *γnsy* Nom., 'stinking', *SCE* 287, with metathesis from *γsn-* (§ 516), against § 525, *d*, and, on the other hand, Man. *ns* 'nose', heavy, with loss of *n* from B. *nns* (§ 338). Similarly *kj* 'miracle' (§ 355), *qšn* 'shape' and Chr. *pšt* 'lips' (§ 357), remain heavy. However, beside the Singular Chr. *kθ* 'town' from *knθ* (§ 340), we have the light-stem treatment in the Plural Chr. *qdt* ii 1, 22.

497. (7) It has been stated in the definition above (§ 484), that prothetic and svarabhakti vowels do not prevent a stem from being light. The examples for the latter are B. 'γwšt'ry and βz'γsty, § 483. For prothetic vowels cf. again B. 'γwšt'ry (§ 162), and 'xšp- (§ 514), 'xšnk- (§ 511), &c., v. also § 178.

498. (8) If a light stem comes to form the second part of a compound V 7, Chr. *pcmrtyt* i 10, 10, Past Partic. Pl., give no clue as to whether they represent 'šmr- or 'šmart-; the *y* of *ptšmyrt* may have been taken over from the Pass. Pres. stem *ptšmyr-* (§ 540).

493<sup>1</sup> With heavy stems of this type the final *y* (no examples for *w* have been noticed) also becomes syllabic. Examples are *mrtty* 'man' from *martiya-* (against *mrt* *mrt* 'every one' *T* ii B R 19. *VJ* 52. 277, from Av. *marata-*), Man. *kmbyy* 'less, short of', § 1302 (*kambe* (not *kambi*), as shown by its treatment as an -*aka-* stem in the abstract *qmbunyh*, v. § 1087 fn.), and perhaps B. *artawaspe* (§ 470 fn.). This fact had not been recognized by Tedesco, who mistook the -*y* of B. *knpy* and *mrtty* for an inflectional ending, loc. cit., p. 104, although the correct analysis of *mrtty* had been given by Rosenberg, *Izv.*, 1918, 834.

pound, the whole is treated as a heavy stem, cf. B. 'δβγ 'chief god' *VJ* 820. 824, S. *knδβr* 'town-gate' (§ 455), Man. *prβrδst* 'crossing one's arms' *Sogd.* 21, 16. However, in juxtapositions the second element, if light, may keep the endings, cf. the forms attested for 'βtkyšp-, § 147.

499. (9) On the same line is the enclitic use of βγ 'Sir, god', usually after conjunctions, in polite address or invocation, instead of the Vocative βγ'. Cf. Man. 'rtyy βγ *M* 530, 5. *Man. Lett.* ii 5, *kt* βγ *M* 135 i 7. 17 sq. 24, *qrmšwhn ptškwym* βγ 'I ask your forgiveness, oh God' *BBB* 748 sq., v. also *VJ* 200. 226. 949. 1075 (Fem.). βγ is also enclitic in *xwrmzt*βγ, Nom. *M* 110 i R 3 sq. *M* 771, 5. *T* ii *D* 79 a 5, Abl. *T* ii *D* 66, 2, 8 sq.

500. (10) The case of βγ may explain the doublets -*f* (§ 1355), S. -*m* (§ 1346), and -*š* (§ 1372), of the enclitic personal pronouns -*fy*, -*my*, -*šy*, the former having merged with the conjunction to which they were attached. Also S. 'st 'is' (§ 762) beside 'sty, may be quoted in point.

501. (11) Just as enclitic light stems are treated in an irregular way, so also proclitic ones. No ending is found with the prepositions *pr* (§ 1625), S. 'c (§ 1610), while with light-stem numerals there appears to have been hesitation between the ending -' and no ending at all (cf. the numerals for 2, 7, 8, 9, 10, 18, in § 1316).

502. (iii) The light-stem endings. The endings by which a light stem can fairly safely be recognized,<sup>1</sup> are the following:

(a) Nominal forms.

(1) -' (B. -' or -*h*). In the Singular for the Feminine of adjectives (§ 1193), the Ablative (§§ 1179. 1199), the Predicative Instrumental (§ 1182); in the Plural for the Nom.-Acc. (§§ 1185. 1205).

(2) -*w* for the Nom.-Acc. Sg., or the Acc. only (§§ 1169. 1171 sq. 1192. 1194-6).

(3) -*y(y)* for the Nom. Sg. Masc. (§§ 1168. 1191), unless the Plural has -*yt*, cf. § 1252.

(4) -*y'* (B. -*y'* or -*yh*) for the Loc. Sg. Masc. and for any Oblique case of Feminines (§§ 1183. 1178. 1181).

(5) -*t'* (B. also -*th*) for the Nom.-Acc. Pl. (§§ 1184. 1204).

(6) -*ty'* (B. -*tyh*) for the Obl. Pl. (§ 1188).

(7) -*yšt* for the Plural (§ 1186).

(8) -*c'* for the Feminine of -*aka-* stem adjectives (§ 1271).

502<sup>1</sup> For occasional exceptions v. §§ 213 fn. 2, 496, 576<sup>c</sup>, 614 fn., 645 (?), 861 fn., 879 fn. 2, 923, 930, 1217, 1230a, 1239, 1267, 1638 fn., Addenda to 861.

(9) -y for the Singular, -t' for the Plural, added to the comparative suffix -tr- (§ 1283).

(10) The abstract suffix -y'k (Man. and Chr. only), v. § 1110.

(b) Present stems.

(1) -' for the 2 Sg. Impf. (§ 697) and the 3 Sg. Impf. (§ 712).

(2) -ty for the 3 Sg. Pres. or Fut. (§ 704 sq.).

(3) -t' for the 3 Sg. Impf. Middle (§ 710).

(c) Past stems.

(1) -' for the Potentialis (§ 881) and the construction with k'ryy (§ 932 sq.).

(2) -w for the Trans. Pret. with -δ'r- (§ 877 sq.).

(3) -y for the 3 Sg. Pass. or Intrans. Pret. (§ 864), and the Infin. (§§ 922-6).

(4) -c' for the Feminine of the -aka- Past Partic. (§ 1271).

503. (iv) Examples of light stems (cf. Tedesco, art. cit., 103 sq. for nouns, and ZII ii 286 (§ 11), 287 (§ 13), 291 (§ 20) for verbs), arranged in alphabetical order acc. to the first consonant after the brief vowel, r being neglected acc. to § 485.

(1) β. γρβ- (γρ'v-), Pres. stem; 'to know' (γρβty 3 Sg. Pres., in all three dialects; B. γρβ' 3 Sg. Impf., VJ 50<sup>b</sup>); Man. B. wβy- (wvy-) 'give', v. § 101; pδwβs- (pδwvs-) 'to stick', cf. § 177; xwβn- (xwv'n-) 'sleep, dream' (B. γwβny, Nom., SCE 57; γwβnw, Acc., VJ 3. 4; γwβn', Abl., P 13, 26); δivdy- 'second', v. §§ 1334 sqq.

504. (2) č. xwc- (xuč-) 'nice' (xwc', Nom. Fem., § 1193; B. γwcv, Acc., § 1194; Man. xwcy'q, abstract, § 1110).

505. (3) d. smwtr- (smudr-) 'ocean', cf. § 413 (Loc. smwtry' M 716, 4, B. sm'wtry' Dhu 218).

506. (4) δ. pδ- 'footmark, foot (figur.)' (Acc. Man. pδw Kaw., G 22); γδ- 'thief' (Pl. B. γδ'yšt SCE 312); wδw- (wadw-) and wδ- (wud-) 'wife'<sup>1</sup> (Nom. wδw (wadw) M 135 ii 60, B. wδwh, passim, and wδy (wudī) VJ 1120; Gen.-Dat. B. wδwyh (wadwya) VJ 904. 1388. SCE 410, and wδyh (wudya) VJ 350. 982; Abl. B. wδwyh (wadwya) SCE 174, and wδyh (wudya) VJ 24<sup>a</sup>; Pl. wδ'yšt (wudīšt) SCE 55, wyδyšt (v. § 119) SCE 231).

507. (5) θ. B. rδδ- 'body of a carriage', from Av. raθa- (H.) (Nom. rδδy VJ 343; Acc. rδδw VJ 588. 986. 1171); S. myδr- (miθr-) 'death', cf. §§ 185. 440 (Nom. or Gen. myδry, in S. kδ' tw' βry myδry 'skw't 'if

<sup>506</sup> While the Nom. Sg. wadu directly continues the OIr. Nom. Sg. wadu, cf. § 136 v, the Oblique and the Plural have the ordinary light-stem endings added to the stem wadu- which thus becomes wadw-, and with metathesis (§ 408), wud- (or wad-, acc. to § 119).

you should be dead' (?) T ii T 14; Obl. myδry in B. myδrywt(?)k 'krt'nyh 'deadly sin' Dhu 83. Vim 45 sq.; Acc. myδrw Anc. Lett. ii 55).

508. (6) f. cf- (čaf-) 'to steal', cf. §§ 150. 277 (cf', 3 Sg. Impf., M 133, 11; B. cβty, 3 Sg. Pres., SCE 161); wfr- (waf-) 'snow' (Loc. wfr'y, v. § 1183); Chr. ptyfn- (ptifn-) 'part' (Acc. ptyfnw i 38, 5, cf. BBB p. 77 on 623); Chr. pcywfs- (pčyufs-) 'to be transformed', v. § 175.

509. (7) γ. βγ- (vay-) 'god'; pcyt-, pčyt- M 662, 1 (pčayd-, cf. §§ 164. 176), Past stem, 'to receive' (pcytw [δ'r-], Trans. Pret., M 672 ii R 7 sq.); ptyt- (ptayd-), Past stem, 'to arrange' (ptytw δ'r-, BBB 563); βwyt- (vuyd-), Past stem, 'to deliver' (βwytw δ'r-, M 378, 14); B. myδβ- (mayδv-) 'minister', cf. § 446 (Nom. myδβy VJ 237. &c.; Acc. myδβw VJ 1337; Pl. myδβt' VJ 207. 212. 234. 355. 1376); jym- (žaym-) 'lie', v. § 285; wšyn- (wšayn-, cf. §§ 147. 177. 211), N. of the 20th day (wšyn', old Gen., v. § 404), and of a god (wšynny βryy, Nom., M 583 i 8); βyn- (vayn-) 'temple', cf. § 165 (Man. βynny, Nom., T ii D 117, 45; βyn', Abl., ib., 41; βyny', Loc., ib., 47. 51).

510. (8) j, ž. vž- 'bad', v. § 179; uzb- 'terror', cf. §§ 34. 309. 377 (Chr. 'wžb', Nom.-Acc., ii 3, 66. 69; Man. xw [sic] wjp', Nom., M 247, 12; wjpy'h, Abl., M 794 a 8); B. kwzp- (kužb-) 'active, energetic, effective' Dhu 200. P 3, 65 (Man. kwjpy'k, abstract, BBB 727).

511. (9) k. (?) xšnk- ((ə)xšnak-)<sup>1</sup> 'magnificent' (Nom. Chr. xšngy ii 5, 9, B. 'yšnky Intox. Sūtra 7 (cf. ST ii 584 a); Pl. Man. 'xšnkt' M 178 i R 28, S. 'yšnkt' T ii D 77 (A I) 15); ykš- 'yakša' (Pl. ykšyšt M 178 ii V 6, and B. ykšt' DN 6; Pl. Obl. B. ykšty' P 2, 338); wyrk- (wi'k-) 'wolf' (Nom. B. wyrky P 2, 330; Pred. Instr. B. wyrk', § 1182; Pl. Chr. wyrqyšt'y, § 1186).

512. (10) m. ram- 'people' (Pl. Chr. rmf' i 22, 20. 57, 20); kyrm- (ki'm-) 'snake', cf. § 140 (Pl. Chr. qrmyst', § 1186); sumdr- 'ocean', v. §§ 47. 413 (Loc. sumt'ry' M 108 R 7); žamn- 'hour', žamn- and žumn- 'time, period';<sup>1</sup> xwmn- (xumn-), N. of the 2nd day (xwmn', old Gen., v. § 404); namr- 'submissive' (Pl. nmrt' M 129 R 3; abstract nmry'q M 133, 84, v. BBB p. 97 on b 85); ptyams- 'to finish', v. § 176;

<sup>511</sup> This reading can be maintained as long as no form with g (\*xšng-) occurs in Man. or Chr. H. reads (ə)xšang, and compares NPers. qasang (Sogd. 20 sq.).

<sup>512</sup> Acc. to H. one has to distinguish two stems: (1) An old -a- or -an- stem žaman(a)-, meaning in Sogdian 'hour'; this inflects jmnw, Acc. (the Nom. does not seem to occur), jmn'y, Loc., M 147 R 3. 7. 11. &c., jmnč', Pl. (2) An old -u- stem žamanu-, meaning 'time' in general, which only occurs with the Loc. ending, before which it either appears as žamn- (cf. wadw-, § 506 fn.), or, with metathesis, as žumn-, cf. Man. m'hjmnwy' 'on Monday', in the headline of a Parth. text, and Chr. žumny' i 84, 14. B. zmnw' DN 86, is a misreading, the facsimile (P 5) has clearly zmnw.

*nams-*, in the abstract *nmsy'k* 'insult, contempt', cf. §§ 550. 828 fn.; *fšamt-*, Past stem, 'to send' (*fšmtw* *š'r-*, Trans. Pret., *M* 129 V 10, cf. §§ 178. 317. 583); *ptramt-* 'to stop', v. § 176.

513. (11) *n*. *šβn-* (*švan-*) 'doubt' (Nom. *šβn* Man. Lett. i 27, B. *šβnh* SCE 216. *Vim* 127); *wn-* (*wan-*) 'tree'; *wrn-* (*wā'n-*) 'faith', cf. § 1168 fn.; *yχun-*, *yχu'n-*, *χu'n-*, 'blood', v. §§ 209. 360. 1168 fn.; *pu'n-* 'full', cf. § 151 (Nom. Masc. Chr. *puwny* i 30, 10; Nom. Fem. B. *puwnh* VJ 877; Nom. Pl. Man. *puwnd* *M* 834 i 22); *špu'n-* 'complete', cf. §§ 99. 151 (Acc. Man. 'špuwnw BBB f 53; abstract 'špuwny'k *M* 378, 2, Chr. *špuwny'q* i 84, 14, 'completion'); *kun-* (*kun-*) 'to do'.<sup>1</sup>

514. (12) *p*. *kap-* 'fish' (Pl. *kpyšt*, § 1186); (*ə*)*χšap-* 'night' ('*χšp* *M* 136 R 2. V 3, *χšp'h* ib., V hl., Nom.; '*χšpy*'(h), Loc., *M* 147 passim).

515. (13) *r*. *šβr-* (*švar-*) 'door'; *ptur-* (*ptur-* or *ptwar-*) 'reward' (Acc. B. *pturw* SCE 61. 424); *βr-* (*var-*) 'to carry, take, bring, offer' (Man. *βrty*, 3 Sg. Pres., *T* ii D 267, 16. *T* ii T 22, 5 (but cf. § 492); Man. B. *βr*, 3 Sg. Impf., *Kaw*. C 5. VJ 172. 1158); *fškar-* 'to expel', v. § 178; *pčar-* (Chr. *pcrw* 'instead of', v. § 674 fn.); *wkr-* (*wkar-*) 'kind, species', cf. § 213 (*wgruw*, Acc., *M* 778, 12; B. *wkry*, Loc. used as Gen., *Dhu* 265).

516. (14) *s*. *šast-* 'hand'; *βyst-* (*vast-*), Past stem, 'to bind' (*βystw* *š'r-*, Trans. Pret., *M* 716, 10); *asp-* 'horse'; *wisp-* 'all', cf. § 1214; *γasn-*<sup>1</sup> 'stinking' (Nom. B. *γsny* P 2, 398; Pl. Man. *γsnd* *T* ii D 139 i 12), cf. § 496 on B. *γns-* and on the heavy *ns* 'nose'.

517. (15) *š*. *wyaš-*, cf. §§ 213. 1212, 'joy' (Nom. Man. *wyšyy* JRAS, 1944, 142, 6. *T* ii D 66 c 6, B. *wyšy* *Vim* 69; Acc. Man. *wyšuw* *M* 178 i R 7, B. *wyšw* SCE 564; Abl. B. *wyš* SCE 41. VJ 883), 'joyful' (Nom. Masc. B. *wyš'y* VJ 140, *wyšy* VJ 10. 72; B. *wyš*, Nom. Fem. VJ 1238. 1403, Pred. Instr. VJ 41. 945, Nom. Pl. VJ 4<sup>a</sup>. 7<sup>a</sup>. 11<sup>b</sup>. 1354), 'to rejoice' (B. *wyš*, 2 Sg. Impf., VJ 1; cf. also Chr. *γwšty*, § 213 fn. 1); *rəšt-* 'true, right' (Chr. *ryšt*, adv., passim; Man. *ršty'q* *M* 133, 71 (v. *Sogd.* p. 3), Chr. *ryšty'q*, abstract, 'truth'); *ptraš-*, Past stem, 'to erect', *ptyušt-*, Past stem, 'to hear', v. § 176; *χuštr-* 'camel', cf. §§ 162. 257. 428. 483 (B. 'γwštry, Nom. SCE 176. 371, Acc. VJ 560; Man. *xwštryyh*, Acc., *M* 127 V 10, *xwštryy*, Gen., *M* 568, 5; B. 'γwštrw, Acc., VJ 163. 564 [B. 'γwštr, Abl., § 1624]).

518. (16) *t*. *žat-*, Past stem, 'to strike' (*jytw* *š'r-*, Trans. Pret., *M* 135 i 32); *itkw-* 'bridge', cf. §§ 126. 397. 423 (Acc. B. *ytkw* (*itkwu*)

513<sup>1</sup> [On 'ny- 'other' v. § 85.]

516<sup>1</sup> From \*g<sup>w</sup>ndhsno-, cf. Greek δέσος 'reproach, insult', acc. to Brugmann-Thumb, *Griechische Grammatik*, 116, from \*g<sup>w</sup>edhsno-, cf. also Walde-Pokorný, i 672 sq.

SCE 539; Loc. Man. *ytqwy* (*itkwyā*) JRAS, 1944, 143, 21);<sup>1</sup> *murt-* (*mu't-*), Past stem, 'to die' (B. Chr. *murtly*, 3 Sg. Pret., VJ 66<sup>b</sup>. 195. 199. 200. 1282. 1284. *ST* ii 5, 30); *yrt-* (*yrt-*) 'wide', v. §§ 138. 220. 490 (Chr. *yrtly*, Nom., ii 3, 43; B. *yrtly* *Dhy* 86. 108. 119, *yrtly* ib., 92, comparative; Man. (?) *yrtly'k*, abstract, 'extension, diffusion' *T* ii D 207, 13); *ratn-* 'jewel' (B. *rtny*, Nom., VJ 1480; B. *rtnw* Acc., VJ 85; Man. *rtnt*, Pl., *Sogd.* p. 25 on 9).

519. (17) *w*, v. also §§ 493. 495. *yaw-* \*'barley' (*ywy*, Loc., *M* 746 c 13); *kaw-* 'giant' (Pl. *kwyšt*, § 1186).

520. (18) *χ*. *mā'χ-* 'straight, flat' (B. *mryw*, Acc., VJ 1497; Man. *mrx*, Pl., *M* 715 c 8); *yuxn-* 'blood', v. §§ 417. 1168 fn.; *čaxr-* 'wheel' (*čarw*, Acc., *M* 178 ii V 32); *wžaxs-* 'to be separated', v. § 213; *vuxs-* 'to be delivered' (B. *βwysty*, 3 Sg. Pres., SCE 350); *pčaxš-* 'to receive', cf. §§ 164. 176 (*pčaxšty*, 3 Sg. Pres., *M* 118 ii R 5; Chr. *pcxš*, 2 Sg. Impf., ii 2, 22); *jwxsšq-* (*žuxšq-*) 'disciple', cf. §§ 180. 255. 285. 410; *ruxsšn-* (*rōxsšn-*) 'luminous', cf. § 127; (*ə*)*spaxšt-*, Past stem, 'to serve' ('*spxšt*' *wβ-*, Pot., v. § 884).

521. (19) *y*, v. also § 493 sq. *ptvay-* 'reverence', from \**pati-baya-* 'fear' (H.) (Nom. Chr. *ptby* (*ptvai*, from *ptvay*) ii 1, 9. B. *ptby* SCE 521; Gen. B. *ptby* *Dhy* 14; Abl. B. *ptby* SCE 74; Acc. Man. B. *ptbyw* passim).

522. (20) *z*. *mu'zk-* 'short', cf. § 151 (B. *murzky*, Nom. Masc., SCE 20; B. *murzk*, Nom. Fem. (?), SCE 98. 129. 322); *γazn-* 'treasure' (Nom. B. *γzny* VJ 66; Gen.-Dat. Man. *γznyy* *T* ii D 66 b 29; Acc. B. *γznw* VJ 46. 84. 415); *wizr-* 'straight, right', cf. § 146 (Nom.-Acc. Man. *wyzryy* *M* 135 ii 19. *T* ii D 115, 12; Acc. Chr. *wyzrw* ii 4, 44; B. *wzrw*, used for the Nom., SCE 380).

523. (21) The stem has no vowel. Chr. *sq-* 'loud, high', from *usk-*, v. §§ 99. 1215; *ps-* 'to ask', *βj-* (*vž-*) 'bad', \**fš-* 'flea', v. § 168; Man. *xt-* 'judge', v. § 1190.

#### 524. (v) Examples of heavy stems.

(A) Stems with one short vowel in positione.

(1) *-mb*. Man. *zmb* 'shore' *T* ii D 66 b 31, Chr. [zm]py, Loc., i 77, 9 (v. *Sogd.* 29);<sup>1</sup> *nmb* 'dew' BBB 577.

#### (2) *n* groups.

(a) *-nd*. *znd* 'song' *M* 137 R hl., cf. H., BSOS x 104 sq.; B. *twnt*

518<sup>1</sup> *ytkw-* is treated like an old *-ā-* stem, with the endings added to *-u-*, cf. *wδw-* (§ 506 fn.) and *jmnw-* (§ 512 fn.).

524<sup>1</sup> The spelling Chr. *zmb* ii 1, 20, either represents an *-ākā-* stem, or is due to the influence of the B. spelling *znph* (in *pnph* VJ 64<sup>e</sup>. *T* ii T 7. 8. 18).

(*tund*) 'violent', Man. *tundy*, abstract, cf. § 1066; *βnd* 'prison', § 107.

(b) -nθ. *knθ* (*kanθ*) 'town', v. § 496 on Chr. *kθ*.

(c) -ng. *mng* 'fraud, deceit' *M* 894 i 1 (H.); *sng* 'stone'.

(d) -ns. *tns* 'longing, regret' *M* 134 ii V i 4; *zns* 'firm, strong, safe'; B. *nns* 'nose', § 338, cf. § 496 on Man. *ns* remaining heavy, and on B. *yns*- treated as a light stem.

#### 526. (3) r groups.

(a) -rβ/f. *yrβ*, *yrf*, 'many', cf. § 53.

(b) -rc. *mrc* 'death', cf. § 489; *purc* 'debt', cf. § 487.

(c) -rδ. *srδδ* 'year' *M* 410, 33; *wrδtyy*, Obl. Pl. of \**wrδ* 'rose', BBB 574.

(d) -ry. *mry* 'wood, meadow' *M* 178 i V 3, B. *mryh* VJ 316, Obl. *mryyh* SCE 241, cf. Yaghn. *mary*, Klimchitsky, *Zap.*, 1937, 18 sq., v. § 485.

(e) -rk. *nyrk* 'male'; *rk* 'work'. [v. Addenda.]

(f) -rm. *γrm* 'hot', v. § 1314; *krm* 'deed' *M* 598, 3. *T* ii D 207, 28.

(g) -rn. Chr. B. *trn* 'tender, submissive' i 6, 9. SCE 47, Man. *trny*, abstract, Sogd. 3; *frn* 'luck'.

(h) -rs. Man. *rsk* 'envy', cf. § 164; Chr. B. *γurs* '(a)round', v. § 488.

(i) -rš. *kršn* 'shape', B. *pršt* 'lips', v. §§ 357. 496.

(k) -rt. B. *srt* 'cold' VJ 961; *nrt* 'trunk' *M* 286 i 5, S. *nrth* Sogd. 4, 17; *jyrt* (*žyart*) 'quick'; *zprt* (*zpart*) 'pure'.

(l) -rz. *wrz* 'miracle' *M* 134 i R 5 &c.

(m) -rž. *krj* 'miracle' *M* 110 i R 9. &c., cf. §§ 355. 496.

527. (4) -xw. That *xw* makes position is inferred from the fact that *fwx* 'parasang' and *wx* 'mind' (§ 236) do not take light-stem endings.

528. (B) Stems with two brief vowels not in position.

(1) The old superlative Man. *βxtm* (*vaxtam*) 'godliest' (v. §§ 164. 254), where *-tam* was no longer perceived as a suffix added to the light stem *βγ-*, remains uninflected, contrary to the rule obtaining with the comparative suffix *-tar* when used with light stems, v. § 1283.

529. (2) The Past Infin. or 3 Sg. Pass. Pret. *frmšt* (*framašt*) *M* 674, 16, from the Pres. stem \**frmrz-* 'to destroy', cf. § 147.

(3) S. *γwyr* (*xuwer*) 'sun', v. § 223; *patyaz* 'autumn', v. § 14.

(4) *əspatak* 'complete' and *kavnak* 'little' (v. § 982), against the light stems *žuxšk-*, &c. (§ 975), where there was no vowel between the stem and the suffix.

(5) Man. *pryt* (*parəyd*) 'weary', v. § 1285, may also belong here. Occasional disyllabic pronunciation of verbal stems with preverbs, has been assumed for *pačwaz-* (§ 175), *pačaxš-* (§ 176), *paraxs-* (§ 177).

530. (C) Stems with long vowels. *rw'n* 'soul'; *šyw* 'demon'; *n'f* 'people'; *rw* 'river'; &c.

[A connexion between the rhythmic law and a shift of stress has been suggested in *Trans. Phil. Soc.* 1948, 61 sqq.]

# PART 3 MORPHOLOGY VERBAL STEMS

## The Past stem

531. (i) The Sogdian Past stem represents (with the exceptions mentioned in §§ 536-8) the OIr. Past Participle, whose endings are preserved with light stems, lost with heavy stems.

In the *Ancient Letters* the simple Past stem is still freely used as the Past Participle. In the later texts it serves as Past Participle only when enlarged by the suffix *-aka-*, while the simple Past stem is confined to special functions, which are enumerated here acc. to their light-stem endings.<sup>1</sup>

532. (1) No ending. Only when contracted with forms of 'to be' in the Intrans. and Pass. Pret., v. § 861.

533. (2) *-y*.

(a) From the OIr. Nom. Sg. Masc. ending: in the 3 Sg. of the Intrans.-Pass. Pret. (v. §§ 861. 864), and before some forms of 'to be', when no contraction took place (§ 861 fn.).

(b) Infinitive ending, v. §§ 922-6.

534. (3) *-w* (from the OIr. Acc. ending).

(a) Before *δr-*, in the Trans. Pret., v. § 877.

(b) In S., before *wn-*, in the Potentialis, v. § 888.

535. (4) *-'* (from the OIr. Abl. or Instr.).

(a) Before *kwn-* and *βw-*, in the Potentialis, v. § 881.

(b) In B., Infinitive ending, between *cnn* and *k'ry*, v. § 933.

536. (ii) By adding *-āt* to the Present stem, a secondary Past stem can be formed from any verb,<sup>1</sup> cf. Reichelt, *Geiger Festschrift*, 259 sq. In the following list, if no other Past stem is given, only the one in *-āt* is attested.

(1) In Man. *jβ't-* 'to bite', v. § 840, B. *zyβ't'k*, Past Partc., P 3, 87, cf. § 610 with fn. 1; *z'ryysy't-* 'misereri', v. § 550 fn. 2; *tkwš't-*, Infin.,

531<sup>1</sup> On the adverbial suffix *-ny* added to the Past stem, v. § 1036. The old Past Participle survives as a light-stem adjective in *\*tryt-* 'distressed', of which the comparative (§ 1284) and the abstract (§ 1110) are attested. Cf. also the comparatives *ptšytryy* § 1284, *prš'tr* and *ptrš'tr* § 1285.

536<sup>1</sup> No Past stems in *\*-āyāt* have been noticed of Pres. stems in *-āy*, whose normal Past stem is *-āt*.

'to look' *T ii B R 7*; *nβyr't-*, Inf., 'to deliberate, plan' (H.) *M 178 ii R 6* (quoted § 1659); *ptmync't-* Inf., 'to dress, put on' *M 915, 20* (*ptmwy't-*); *γrβ'tδr-*, Trans. Pret., *M 130 ii V 5. T i D, γrβ't-*, Inf., *M 767 i 10, γrβ'ty'h* Past Partc., *M 670, 2*, 'to know'; *ps't δr-*, Trans. Pret., 'to ask' *M 127 V 11* (*fštw δr-*); *prwyj'tyt*, Past Partc. Pl., 'to nourish' *M 399, 11*; *šm'r't-*, Infin., 'to think' *M 655, 7. 10* (B. *šm'r't wn-*, Pot., *VJ 1026*); *škw't-*, v. § 804. [*γrβ't-*, § 1158.]

537. (2) Outside Man. S. *\*stwt δr-* 'to become converted', v. § 877 fn. 2 c; Chr. *ptfs't-* 'to read', v. § 851; B. *zγ'yr't*, Infin., 'to call' *VJ 23. 214* (Man. *jyyr't-*); B. *rwš't*, Infin., 'to flow' *VJ 1029* (Pres. stem *rwš-* P 2, 139); B. *wγ'rš't wn-*, Pot., 'to deliver', P 2, 126; B. *nš'yδ'tch*, Past Partc. Fem., 'to plant', *VJ 1118*; *prβ'yr't βw-*, Pot., *VJ 859*, *prβ'yr't δr-*, Trans. Pret., *SCE 418*, 'to tell' (S. *prβ'yr't'k*, Past Partc., *T M 389 a V 11*); B. *ptβ'r'w't-* and *ptβ'r'wt-*, 'to remember', v. § 865; B. *rys'ty*, Inf., 'to lick', *VJ 970* (v. *JRAS*, 1942, 100); B. *γwβ't*, Infin., 'to praise', *Vim 41* (Man. Chr. *γwβ'ty*, Past Partc.); B. *tyny'ty*, Infin., 'to lead, take', *VJ 1<sup>a</sup>* (cf. Man. *\*ny't-*, *pr'ny't-*, § 569).

538. (iii) Other Past stems which do not represent the OIr. Past Participle are those enumerated in § 486, and B. *šm'r't-*, v. § 593.

Cf. also the secondary *-δār-* Preterites in § 877 fn. 1, and the Past stem *θvaxš't-* beside *θvayd-*, § 551.

## Present classes and corresponding Past stems

This chapter is divided into two parts. The first (§§ 539-63) shows a few notable OIr. Present formations as represented in Sogdian. The second (§§ 564-604) is an empirical list of the main types of Present stems in Sogdian. For a detailed study of the Mlr. verb, v. H., *ZII* ix 158 sqq. (Index by Ghilain, *Muséon*, l, 367 sqq.), and Ghilain, *Essai sur la langue Parthe*, Louvain, 1939.

## OIr. Present classes in Sogdian

539. (i) Inchoative. Apart from the Inchoatives used for the Present Passive (v. § 824), there are some old Inchoatives. *ps-* 'to ask', from *prsa-*, Past stem *fš't-* from *\*frašta-*; *\*ndwxs-* 'to strive', v. *BBB* p. 84 on 710; B. *γwys-* 'to perspire' P 2, 295, from Av. *x'isa-*; Chr. *šfrs-* 'to be ashamed', v. § 441; B. *\*wβs-* 'to sleep', v. § 620, Past stem Man. *wβ't-*, v. § 397; *ys-* 'to come', from *isa-+ā-*, *tys-* 'to enter', from *isa-+ati-*, B. *pr'ys-* 'to reach; to hand over', from *isa-+parā-*, cf. Tedesco, *ZII* ii 34 sq., Past stem *\*γt-*, *tyt-*, *pr'γt-* (cf. § 603);<sup>1</sup>

539<sup>1</sup> The Past stem OIr. *ita-* is contained in *niž(i)t-* (§ 568), and perhaps in B. *yty*, Infin., 'to go', *VJ 314*. There is, however, also a Pres. stem *yt-* (S. *kw*

's- 'to take', from *ā-yasa-* (cf. § 129), Past stem *'yt-* from *ā-yata-*;<sup>2</sup> *ny's-* 'to take' (cf. § 630), from *\*ni-yāsa-*,<sup>3</sup> Past stem *ny't-* from *\*ni-yāta-*;<sup>4</sup> B. *'r'ys-* 'to wish', and the verbal noun Man. *'''rwrs* 'desire' (v. H., *BSOS* x 103 with fn. 4, *BBB* p. 71 on 566, and cf. above, § 119), Past stem *'''rwyt-* *Sogd.* 46, *Frg.* o 3; other traces of OIr. Inchoatives are *xw's'd*, *wx'scn*, *xw't* (from *xwās-/xwāt-* 'to be(come) tired', v. *BBB* pp. 82 sq.), the Past Partc. *wyr'tyy* 'alert, vigilant', v. *BBB* p. 84 on 703 (Pres. stem *\*wiyrās-*, v. H., *ZII* ix 196, cf. Yaghn. *yurās-*), the secondary Past Partc. B. *δm's't*, v. § 318, and *tpsnwq* 'annoyance', from Av. *tafsa-*, *Sogd.* 48, 6.

#### 540. (ii) Passive. Cf. also § 548.

(a) *xwyn-* 'to be called', v. § 706, from *\*xwan-ya-*.

(b) *ptšmyr-* 'to be counted', v. § 706, from *\*patišmrya-*, Active Chr. *pcmr-*, v. § 592.

(c) *šyš-* 'to be scattered': Man. *šyštuy*, 3 Sg. Pres.?, v. § 706; B. *šyš't*, 3 Sg. Subj., *Dhy* 23. Active *š's-*, v. *BBB* p. 84 on 701.

(d) *kyr-* (*kir-*), Pass. of *kwn-* 'to make',<sup>1</sup> from *k(i)rya-*, v. H., *ZII* ix 205 sq.; Man. B. *kyr* 3 Sg. Impf., *M* 280 R 7. *VJ* 64; B. *kyr't*, 3 Sg. Subj., *SCE* 552.

(e) B. *β'yr*, 3 Sg. Impf., 'was brought', *VJ* 868. 871. 872, from *\*ā-brya-*. Active *βr-*.

(f) B. *škr'yrδ* 'skwn, 2 Pl. Pres., 'you are being led', *VJ* 1282, Pass. of *škr-*.

(g) B. *βz'y-* 'to grow', < *abi-žawya-*, v. § 187.

#### 541. Less certain are:

(h) B. *'nywy-* from *\*ham-xwah-ya-*, Pass. of *'nyw'y-* from *\*ham-xwāh-āya-* 'to infringe': *rty mc 'γw 'By' L' 'z'yr't L' ZY šy ZKh prm'nh 'nywy'ty* (v. § 711 fn.) *VJ* 5<sup>b</sup> sq. 'by me my father will not be hurt, nor his order infringed'.

*tmw yt'ty*, 3 Sg. Subj., 'he will go to hell', *T M* 393 ii R 2), acc. to H. from Av. *yat-*, of which *ytt'y* could be the Pres. Infin.

539<sup>2</sup> Of *ās-* a secondary Past stem is attested in Chr. *'st-* i 38, 6, unless this is to be read *'yf-*.

539<sup>3</sup> Acc. to H. the root *yam-* seems to appear in Iranian in two forms, *yam-* and *yamo-*; thus we have *yasa-* (*ymsko-*) and *yāsa-* (*ymsko-*), *yata-* and *yāta-*, &c. Differently on *ny's-*, Reichelt, *Geiger Festschrift*, 251.

539<sup>4</sup> A Past stem made from the *guṇa* form of the root *yam-* (cf. *p(a)tyamt-*, § 580) is contained in *nymt-* from *\*ni-yamt-*: Man. *nymty βstyt 'skwnδ* 'they are taken and bound' *M* 814 i 9; Chr. *nymty*, Past Partc., 'caught (fishes)' i 79, 6. It is used as the Past stem of *ny's-* in *ST* i 78, 12 sq.: *qt ny'st' dyd' γw'nt nymtyt bntq* 'if you retain anybody's sins, they will be retained'.

540<sup>1</sup> Not to be confused with *kyr-* (*kēr-*) 'to sow, grow (trans.)', from *kāraya-*: B. *kyr*, 2 Sg. Subj., *Vim* 30.

(i) Man. *pšy-*, Pass. of *pš'y-* 'to throw', seems to follow the same pattern: *pšyt* 3 Sg. Subj., *M* 674, 24, 'to be kept back, thrown out' (H.).

(k) Man. *pcwj-* \*'to be driven (chariot)', from *\*pati-uz-ya-*? (H.): *pcwj't*, 3 Sg. Subj., quoted § 1648, cf. § 197.

#### 542. (iii) Causative.

(1) From *-aya-*. Cf. also § 548. With palatalization:

(a) *'nwyr-*, Trans., 'to collect', from *\*ham-wāzaya-*: *'nwz-*, Intrans., 'to assemble', from *ham-waza-*, cf. *BBB* p. 79 on 649.

(b) *xwyr-* 'to feed' *M* 134 i R 1, B. *γw'yr-* *VJ* 1341, cf. *'''xwyr-* *Sogd.* 50, 3, from *xwāraya-*: *xwr-* 'to eat', from *xwara-*, cf. § 228 fn.

(c) *zrync-* *M* 135 ii 7. *M* 502 i 5, B. *zr'ync-* *VJ* 102. 39<sup>b</sup>. 449. 597, 'to save, deliver', from *\*uz-ranjaya-* (H.), cf. the verbal noun B. *zr'nk* *P* 2, 10, *zr'nh* ib. 130, 'deliverance'; Past stem Man. Chr. *zryt-* *M* 410, 40 (*zrytwδ'r-*). *ST* i 31, 4, B. *zr'yt-* *O* 2 20 (*zr'ytw δ'r-*). *P* 2, 125 (*zr'yt un-*, Pot.).

543. (d) B. *w'γyz* (*wāxēž*) 3 Sg. Impf., 'to cause to descend': Man. *'wzz-* 'to descend', § 342; B. *'ny'yz-* 'to cause to get up, to raise' *VJ* 1137. *ST* ii, Chr. *'xyž-* i 30, 15. 39, 1: Man. *'nyz-*, *\*nzz-*, B. *'nyz-*, Chr. *'yz-*, 'to rise', v. § 55.

(e) *prwyr-*, Trans., 'to turn, transform', from *pari-wartaya-*: *prwrt-*, Intrans., 'to turn, become', from *pari-warta-*, cf. *BBB* p. 94 on b 52.

(f) *syn-* 'to raise' (heavy stem: *syn*, 2 Sg. Impf., *M* 178 ii R 3), from *\*sānaya-*: *sn-* 'to rise', from Av. *sana-*, cf. Tedesco, *ZII* ii 39.

544. (g) *'mbyr-* 'to fill' *M* 178 i V 2, from *\*ham-pāraya-*, cf. *'mb'r*, *BBB* p. 98 top.

(h) *'wjyystδ'r-* 'to cause to settle', Trans. Pret. from *\*'wjyγδ-*, Caus. from *'wjyδ-* 'to dismount', v. *BBB* p. 60 on 508.

(i) Chr. *nywynt*, 3 Sg. Impf., 'to dress (somebody)', ii 5, 27: B. *ny'wnt-* 'to put on a dress', v. § 186.

545. (k) B. *'pyw'yz-* (*əpxwēž-*) 'to conceal', cf. § 191.

(l) B. *np'yδ-* 'faire se coucher' *VJ* 1138, from *\*nipādaya-*: *nypδ-* 'se coucher' *SCE* 324, from *\*nipada-*.

(m) *nšyyδ-* 'to plant, place', v. *BBB* p. 90, from *nišādaya-*: *nyδ-* 'to sit, seat oneself', from *\*nihida-*.

#### 546. (2) Without palatalization (stems in *-āw-*):

(a) *'pst'w-* 'to cause to disown': *'pstw-* 'to disown', v. *BBB* p. 101 on e 20, and cf. § 575.

(b) *n'w-* 'to shake': *βnw-* 'to tremble', cf. § 576.

(c) Chr. *'žw-* 'to make live', *'žwt*, 3 Sg. Pres., i 14, 12 (thus

corrected by Telegdi, *JA*, t. 230 (1938) p. 224 fn.), *ž'wny*, Pres. Partc., cf. § 894: *žw*- 'to live', v. § 574.

547. (3) With *-(a)n-* from *-ana-* (H.), cf. Bartholomae, *Gdr. Ir. Phil.* i 73 (§ 132 b).

(a) *'nwysn-* 'to make enter, initiate', from Av. *vis-* (H.): S. *pr ny'wš'ky'kh* *'nwysn't* *š'rt* 'he initiated (= received) into the lay community' *T M* 389 a V 23; Man. *'nwysn[y]t* Pres. Partc. Pl., § 475, 2, *m*(*'*)*wysnw* 1 Sg. Impf., *M* 765 c 5; Chr. *'wysn't* *wn-* *B* 49, 13.

(b) *rudn-* 'to cause to grow' ? v. *Sogd.* p. 47 on 4.

548. (iv) Transitive and Intransitive coinciding. Since the palatalization of the root vowel with loss of the palatalizing *y* is common to the *-ya-* and the *-aya-* class, a number of causatives have become indistinguishable from the corresponding passives in the written form, although there probably was a difference in the pronunciation.

(a) *'zyr-* 'to hurt', from *\*āzāraya-*; 'to be hurt', from *\*āzrya-*, v. *BBB* p. 89 on a 1. *āzēr-*: *āzir-* ? [v. Addenda].

(b) *prwyj-* 'to feed', Trans., from *\*pari-warzaya-* (*parwež-*); Intrans., from *\*pari-wrz-ya-* (*parwiž-*), v. *BBB* p. 77 on 628 with fn. 4; cf. now B. *prwrz* 'nursing' *P* 8, 199 (H.).

549. (c) *nyyš-* 'to spoil' *M* 771, 11, Chr. *pnyš-* *ἀπόλλυμι*, from *nāsaya-* (*nēš-*), cf. § 193: *nyš-* 'to be lost' (*nyštyy* 3 Sg. Pres. Pass., *BBB* a 2), from *nasya-* (*neš-*); Preterite of the Trans. is S. *n(y)štwš'r-*, *BBB* p. 81 on 674.

(d) Chr. *'ndyš-* Trans., 'to show' i 11, 2, from *handaisaya-*, Intrans. 'to appear' i 52, 4, from *handis-ya-*, v. H., *ZII* ix 207. *BBB* p. 87 on 753, and cf. *'ndysn* 'reflection', H., loc. cit., and *šdys* &c., 'vision', *Sogd.* p. 20 on 22 b; S. *pš'yš-* Trans., 'to show' *T M* 389 a R 10, from *\*upa-daisaya-*, Intrans., 'to appear' *Vim* 1. 2. 5. 6, from *\*upa-dis-ya-*; Past stem B. *pš'št-*, v. § 1060.

550. (e) *sy-* 'to show' and 'to appear',<sup>1</sup> cf. Parth. *sy-*, Ghilain, p. 91. On its rhythmic value v. § 494. *z'ry sy-* 'to pity' and 'to be pitied',<sup>2</sup> B. *z'n'nt L' syt* 'does not pay attention' *VJ* 284. 289;

550<sup>1</sup> There is apparently another Pres. stem *sy-*, attested in B. *syt* 3 Sg. Pres. 'sews' *SCE* 80. B. *'sy'nt* 3 Pl., *SCE* 175, Chin. 'se sont arrêtés', probably means 'appeared, are'.

550<sup>2</sup> 3 Sg. Pres. B. *z'ry syt* 'uses sparingly, pities' (= B. *z'ry šrt* *SCE* 195), *SCE* 78. 132. 194. *P* 2, 66. 75, Man. (*z*)*'ryy* (*s*)*yut* *M* 521 a 1 (out of context).

2 Sg. Pres. B. *z'ry 'sy'y* 'you pity' *Dhu* 183, Man. *'ty myy* . . . *z'ryyyskwn* 'I pity you' *T* ii *D* 117, 2.

2 Sg. Impf. B. *z'ry sy* *Dhy* 183, *z'ry 'sy* *VJ* 367 sq. 'have pity'.

*tr'nyw syt* 'shows anger' *SCE* 332; *šyrsyt* 'rejoices' *SCE* 524; cf. also Man. *nmsy'k* 'feeling despised', v. *BBB* p. 75 on 607 (but also § 828 fn.), and B. *šyrsy'twh* 'happiness' *SCE* 406 (cf. § 1072).

### 551. (v) -s- enlargement.

(a) *βxš-/βyt-* 'to give'.

(b) *ptcxš-/ptcyt-* 'to receive'.

(c) *\*θvaxš-* 'to collect, gain', Past stem *θvaxšt-* *Sogd.* 16, 5, and *θvayd-*, v. H., *BSOS* x 105. *Sogd.* p. 32 on 4.

(d) *tkwš-* 'to look', from *\*ku-+ati* (H.).

(e) Beside B. (*'*)*pc-* 'to cook' *SCE* 219. 233. *Frg* iii 73, we have *\*puxš-* in B. *puyš* 'bouilloire' *SCE* 206. Past stem B. *puyt-*, v. § 933.

(f) Beside B. *'yuz-/y'wšt-* 'to perturb', there is *\*yōš-* in B. *sry'wš* 'dont le cœur se trouble' *SCE* 318.

(g) Man. *wyšrfš-* *\*'to blaze*, v. §§ 439. 1033.

### 552. (vi) The root stā-<sup>1</sup>

(1) *\*awa-stāya-*.

(a) *'wsty-* (*ōstay-*) 'to put, place', from *awa-stāya-*, v. § 124. B. *'wsty't* 3 Sg. Pres., *SCE* 91. *P* 2, 111; Chr. *'wstyθ'* 2 Pl. Impf., i 34, 3; Man. *'wsty't* 3 Sg. Subj., *BBB* f 25; *'wstyn* 1 Sg. Subj., *Sogd.* 43, 10; *w'styy* 3 Sg. Impf., *BBB*; *w'styy'nd* 3 Pl. Impf., *M* 110 i R 1, *w'stynd* *M* 178 ii R 14.

553. (b) The Present stem also occurs as *ōst-*, perhaps under the influence of *ōšt-* (v. § 557), or derived from the Past stem *ōstāt-* (§ 554), on the analogy of *γrβ't-:γrβ-*, &c. (§ 536). Cf. Parth. *'wyst-*. Chr. *'wst* 2 Sg. Impf., ii 3, 16; *w'st* 3 Sg. Impf., ii 5, 28, Man. *w'(st)* *Kaw.* V 22; Man. *w'stnd* 3 Pl. Impf., *M* 178 ii R 14; B. *'wstt* 3 Sg. Pres., *SCE* 317. 488; *'wst'ndskun* 3 Pl. Pres., *Man. Lett.* i 23; *'wstnyy* Pres. Partc., ib. 11.

3 Sg. Subj. (cf. § 711 fn.). B. *-βy c' z'ry 'st* (v. § 1312) *sy'ty ZKh* *γr'ywh* 'how pitiful your bodies will look' *VJ* 1100 sq.

1 Pl. Subj. or Opt. B. *z'ry* . . . *sy'ym* 'may we be pitied, pity us' *VJ* 361.

3 Sg. Impf. B. *-šy z'ry 'sy* 'he pitied him (Sudāšan)' or 'he (S.) appeared pitiful to him' *VJ* 824.

3 Pl. Impf. B. *-šn* (wrong for *\*-šy*) . . . *z'ry sy'nt* 'he pitied them' *VJ* 20<sup>a</sup> sq. 2 Sg. Pass. Pret. Man. *z'ryysy'tyš* 'tibi miseritum est' *M* 370, 3.

Trans. Pret. Chr. *z'rysy'd'r-* i 36, 11.

Pres. Partc. B. *z'rysyn'k* *P* 2, 29, *z'ry sy'n'k* *P* 7, 155 'merciful'.

Abstract. Chr. *z'rysy'mniy* 'mercy' i 31, 11.

552<sup>1</sup> For nominal forms belonging to this root, cf. Man. *pst-* 'assistance', from *upastā-*, v. § 99; *ptst't* 'resistance', from *patištāta-* (v. *BBB* p. 104 on f 63), under the influence of *ōstāt-* (§ 554); S. *'pšt'w'nš* 'order', v. § 1084; the suffix *-stan(e)*, v. § 1118; the durative particle *'štn*, v. § 635 fn. 1.

554. (c) Past stem *ōstāt-* from *awa-stāta-*, B. *ʾwstʾt(y)* Inf., VJ 44. 250. 348.

555. (d) Owing to the shortening described in § 122, *ōstāt-* became *ōstat-* and *ōst-*, in B. *ʾwstt wn-* Pot., Vim 46. 47, and the Chr. Trans. Pret. *ʾwstʾr-* ii 2, 5. 3, 22.

556. (e) The Past Partc. Chr. *ʾwstyty* (*ōstaitē*) i 47, 14, was derived from the Trans. Pret. Chr. B. *ōstaidār-*, on which v. § 877 fn. 1.

557. (2) *awa-hišta-*

(a) Pres. stem *ōšt-* from *awa-hišta-*, 'to stand, step'. B. *ʾwšt* 3 Sg. Pres., Vim 74; *ʾwštʾnt* 3 Pl. Pres., Dhy 281; *ʾwštʾnd kʾm* 3 Pl. Fut., Man. Lett. ii 12; *wʾšt* 3 Sg. Impf., BBB; B. *wʾštʾnt* 3 Pl. Impf., VJ 30<sup>b</sup>; Man. *ʾwštʾmntyy* 'existence' T ii D 207, 29 (cf. § 1100).

558. (b) Under the influence of *ōstay-* (§ 552), *ōšt-* becomes *ōštay-*. *ʾwštyyt* 3 Sg. Pres., JRAS, 1944, 142, 11; B. *ʾwštyt kʾm* 3 Sg. Fut., Dhy 357; Man. *wʾštyy* 3 Sg. Impf., M 133, 17.

559. (c) The Past stem is Chr. *ʾwšt-* i 14, 22 (v. § 853). 59, 17 (v. § 848). 61, 19 (v. § 860). 81, 7, modelled on *ōst-* (§ 555).

560. (3) *apšstay-* 'to abandon', containing the preverb *apa-*, is modelled on *ōstay-* (§ 558). Only B. *ʾpštyʾmʾskwn* 1 Sg. Pres., VJ 301<sup>1</sup>.

561. (4) *ništay-* 'to order, suggest', from OPers. *ništāya-* (H.). Man. *nyštymskwn* (*ništayʾmskun*) 1 Pl. Pres., M 617 i 25; Past stem B. *nyštʾt-* VJ 1416.

562. (5) *parštāy-* and *paštāy-* (cf. § 357) 'to prepare', from *pari-štāya-*, Past stem Man. *prštʾt-*, Chr. *pštʾt-*, from *pari-štāta-* <sup>21</sup>

563. (6) B. *ptšty-* (*patštay-*) 'to lean, rest on' Dhy 25, from *\*pati-štāya-*.

#### The main types of Sogdian Present stems

##### 564. Conspectus.

-ām- 580-4	-š- 586
-āw- 571-3	-š- (-θ-) 587
-āy- 565 sq.	-f- 590
-(a)w-, -(u)w-, 574-6	-mb- 602
-ay- 567-70	-n- 577-9
-β- 589	-nc- 600
-c- 591	-nd- 601

560<sup>1</sup> [v. Add.]

562<sup>1</sup> The meaning of Av. *parištaya-* is, however, quite different.

-p- 588

-r- 592 sq.

-s- 596 sq.

-š- 598 sq.

-t- 585

-z- 594

-ž- 595

Suppletive stems, 603

Denominatives, 604

565. (1) -āy-

(a) *frmʾy-/frmʾt-* 'to order'; *ʾpʾy-/ʾpʾt-* 'to consider'; *pʾy-/S. pʾt* Sogd. 64, 20, 'to protect'; B. *rʾy-/rʾt-* 'to weep'; <sup>1</sup> &c.

566. (b) -xwʾy-/xwst- 'to beat', with preverbs, v. § 226.

567. (2) -ay-

(a) Man. B. *ptškwʾy-/ptškwʾt-* 'to say, address'.

568. (b) *nižay-* 'to go out', from *\*nižaya-* <sup>1</sup> *nyjyt* 3 Sg. Pres., M 583 ii 8, B. *nzyt SCE* 283. Vim 127; B. *nyzʾyt kʾm* 3 Sg. Fut., Dhy 211; *nyzyt* 3 Sg. Subj., SCE 215; *nyzyʾy* 3 Sg. Opt., Dhy 60; Man. *nyjyy* 3 Sg. Impf., T ii D 66 b 31, B. *nyzʾ(y) VJ* 7. 349. 353. &c.; B. *nyzyʾnt* 3 Pl. Impf., VJ 892. O<sup>1</sup> 14; S. *nyzyʾmʾntʾk* 'deliverance' T M 389 a V 14. The Past stem is Man. *nyjt-*, Chr. *nyžt-*, B. *nyzt-* and *nyzyt-* (VJ 146), from *\*nižita-*, cf. § 539, fn. 1.

569. (c) *ānay-*, *parānay-* (on B. *prʾnʾy-* v. § 567 fn.), *tinay-*, 'to lead, take, bring', from *ʾnaya-*. B. *ʾny* 2 Sg. Impt., VJ 1248, *nyδ* 2 Pl. Impt., VJ 1381, 2 Pl. Subj. VJ 1383, Man. *ʾ[ʾ](ny)δ* 2 Pl., M 356, 13; B. *prʾnʾyt* 3 Sg. Pres., Dhu 22, S. *prʾnyny* Pres. Partc., v. § 895; B. *tyny-*, v. § 662, 3. Past stem *ʾnyt-*, cf. *ʾnyt qwn-* Pot., § 883, Chr. *nydʾr-* Trans. Pret., i 36, 2, Man. *prʾnyt δʾr-* Trans. Pret., T ii D 52 c i 2, from *ʾnita-*.

570. (d) *patway-* 'to wind, coil, wriggle': B. *ptʾywʾy* 3 Sg. Impf., VJ 29c, *ptwyʾt* (ʾy, ʾw, ʾh) Inf., VJ passim. To the same base<sup>1</sup> perhaps belongs B. *prwʾy* 3 Sg. Opt., Frq iii 19, *prwʾyt* 3 Sg. Pres., SCE 324 (*parwāy-* ? cf. § 567 fn.) 'to wrap up, surround', Past stem

565<sup>1</sup> From Av. *raya-* (from *\*rāya-*) in *gādrō.rayant-* (H.).

567<sup>1</sup> Chr. *pčkwāy-* in *pc[qw]ʾynlqʾ* 3 Pl. Fut., i 27, 16. Uncertainty between *-āy-* and *-ay-*, or merely considerations of space, may have prompted the spellings Chr. *štyʾmnty* 'showing' i 32, 17 (elsewhere Chr. has *šʾy-*; *štyʾsqn* i 44, 14, is a scribal error for *\*šʾyʾsqn*), Chr. *swyʾtqʾ* 'it will take away' i 60, 6, B. *sywyʾt* 'he extols' SCE 338 (end of line), beside Chr. *swyʾy*, § 417. It may be possible to consider B. *prʾnʾyt* 3 Sg. Pres., SCE 392, said to mean *prosterner* (with this meaning also *prʾnʾyt*, ib. 404), as an inverse spelling of *parānay-* (v. § 569).

568<sup>1</sup> The Pres. stem also appears as *niž-*, with reduction of the first *a* of *\*nižaya-*, and assimilation of *y* (v. § 198). B. *nyzʾn* 1 Sg. Subj., T ii D 213 (A 5) 14; Man. *nyjʾt* 3 Sg. Subj., M 107 i 54; *nyjtyh skwn* 3 Sg. Pres., M 14 R 5 sq.; Chr. *nyžntqʾ* 3 Pl. Fut., i 63, 11; B. *nyzʾnt* 3 Pl. Impf., T ii T 9.

570<sup>1</sup> *\*wei-* (Walde-Pokorny, i 223 sq.), cf. Oss. *biyun* 'to wind, plait'.



*prwył-*, cf. S. *βth prwył'k* 'seven times wound' (H.) *T M* 393 ii R 13, Chr. *prwyd'rt* 'he placed around' i 19, 15.

(e) *'jy-* 'to be born', v. § 182 fn., Past stem *āžit-*, § 27.

(d) B. *pr'šy* 3 Sg. Impf., § 129, against the Pres. Man. *fryš-*, § 598 (a).

571. (3) *-āw-*. Cf. also § 546.

(a) *xšn'w-* 'to satisfy', v. § 157, Past stem *xšwnd-*, § 414 a.

(b) *vāžāw-* 'to add, increase', from OPers. *abi-žāwaya-*, cf. H., BSOS viii 584: Man. *βj'w* 2 Sg. Impt., *M* 767 i 2, B. *βz'w-* SCE 412, *βz'w-* Vim 93, cf. § 90, and § 187 on the pass. *vāžay-*.

(c) *ps'w-* 'to touch', Past stem *ps'wt-*, v. BBB p. 72 on 576.

572. (d) *nyšk'w-* 'to take out' *M* 108 V 5. *M* 133, 57, B. *nšk'w-* Frq. iii 64. Vim 162. DN 32.

(e) *ptfr'w-* 'to think, remember', Past stem *ptfr'wt-*, v. § 604.

(f) *pl'w-* 'to endure' *M* 372, 8.

573. (g) *β'w-* 'to approach'. Man. *β'w* 3 Sg. Impf., *M* 760, 3; Man. *β'wn* 1 Sg. Subj., *T* ii D 66 b 37; S. *β'w'nt* 3 Pl. Impf., *T* i a (6) V 1; Chr. *b'wd'r-*, Pret., v. § 877 fn. 2. Cf. Benv., Notes iv 511.

(h) B. *'nδ'w-* 'to anoint' SCE, Past stem *'nδwt-* (S. *'nδwt*, Infin., *T M* 389 a R 36. V 16).

(i) *\*parθ/δāw-* 'to inflame', cf. S. *prδ'w* 'flame', Past stem Man. *prδwt-*, v. BBB p. 92 on b 15, connected with Khwār. *θāw-*, scarcely with Skt. *du* (H.). *x prθwt-*

(k) *x'w-* 'to beat', Past stem *xwst-*, cf. § 233.

574. (4) *-(a)w-*, *-(u)w-*, cf. § 495.

(a) *βw-* 'to be(come)', v. § 790 sq.

(b) *šw-* 'to go', cf. § 603, g.

(c) *jw-* 'to live'.<sup>1</sup> *jwł* (*žūt*) 3 Sg. Pres., *M* 142 R 7, *jwłk'm* 3 Sg. Fut., *M* 127 V 6, *jw'nd* (*ž(w)wand*) 3 Pl. Pres., *M* 810, 4; cf. Chr. *'ž'w-*, § 546, c.

575. (d) Root *stu-* *pstw-* 'to disown', Chr. *psłw't* (*pastawāt*) 3 Sg. Subj., i 10, 14. 13, 9, cf. also § 546, a; Chr. *nyžłw-* 'ἀναγγέλλω' i 74, 2, from *\*nišstu-*, cf. Pahl. Psalter *nstwt* 'promised' ? (H.); S. *\*\*\*stuw-* 'to be converted', cf. § 877 fn. 2.

576. (e) *βnw-* 'to tremble'. Man. *βnwtyy* (*avnōti*) 3 Sg. Pres. Middle with Pass. ending; B. *β'n'w* 3 Sg. Impf.; v. BBB p. 55.

(f) *γw-* 'to be wanting, necessary', Impersonal, Past stem B. *γwt-*, BBB p. 68 bottom.

Hübschmann, *Lautehre*, 28, N° 62, Wakhi *zwāy-*, Morgenstierne, *IIFL* ii 556, Geiger, *Gdr. Ir. Phil.* i<sup>3</sup> 312, N° 6. 9.

574<sup>1</sup> As pointed out by H., Sogdian goes here with Av. *f(a)va-*, Khot. *jv-* (cf.

577. (5) *-n-*.

(a) *jn-* 'to strike' (§ 264), Past stem *j(y)t-* (§ 108); *sn-* 'to rise', Past stem *stt-* (§ 864); Man. B. *kn-* 'to dig' Man. Lett. i 18. SCE 527, Past stem B. *knt-* VJ 239.

578. (b) Man. Chr. B. *zn-* 'to bring forth' *T* ii B R 19. *ST* i. VJ 38, Past stem *z't-*, cf. B. *z't kwn-*, Pot., P 3, 7 and § 865.

(c) Man. B. *kwn-*, Chr. B. *wn-*, 'to make, do', Past stem *'kt-*, cf. § 148.

579. (d) Man. *zyn-* 'to take away' Kaw. G 9, Past stem *zyt-*, § 836; *wyn-* 'to see', Past stem *wyt-*; Chr. *wrn-* 'to believe', *ST* i; B. *'pz'rn-* 'to afflict',<sup>1</sup> cf. the verbal noun Man. *pzrn*, § 957; Man. *'fryn-*, *'fryn-* (§ 5 fn.), B. *'pryn-* VJ 148. 541. &c., 'to bless', Past stem *'fryt-*; Man. Chr. *sfryn-* 'to create', cf. §§ 475, 2. 627, Past stem *sfryt-* *M* 591, 5.

580. (6) *-ām-*.

(a) *ptyām-* 'to finish': Man. *pty'mym* 1 Pl., *M* 378, 2, *pty'mt* 3 Sg. Pres. (uncertain) *M* 600, 15, *pty'm* 2 Sg. Impt., BBB c 16 (doubted by H. *ad locum*), S. *pttyy'm* 3 Sg. Impf., v. § 630; Past stem *p(a)tyamt-*, cf. § 865 fn. 1.

581. (b) *ptrām-* 'to appease, stop': Man. *ptr'mt* 3 Sg. Pres., *T* ii T 22, 19, B. *ptr'mt* *T M* 422, 11, *ptr'mt* ib. 7; Past stem *ptramt-*, light stem, v. § 176.

582. (c) *pyām-* 'to heal': Man. S. *py'm-* *M* 137 R 2. *T M* 389 a R 14. 19, cf. the name *by'mnwurz*, § 306, and the verbal noun Chr. *py'm* i 70, 16; Past stem *pyamt-* (light stem): S. *py'mtw kwn-*, Pot., v. § 888, *py'mtw δ'r-*, Trans. Pret., *T M* 389 a R 7 sq.

583. (d) Chr. *fš'm-* 'to send' (cf. § 317) i 6, 7. 78, 8. ii 6, 18: Man. *fšmt-* (*fšamt-*), v. § 512, Chr. *fšmd'r-*, Trans. Pret., cf. § 457.

584. (e) Chr. *'wz'm-* 'to condemn' i 17, 4, Man. *'wz'm* 2 Sg. Impt., § 285 fn. 1, *wz'm* 3 Sg. Impf., *T* i (Par. 10), Past Partc. *'wzty*, § 838; cf. also *'wzmyh* *M* 123 R 3 (not clear; 3 Sg. Pass. ?).

585. (7) *-t(-d-)*.

(a) *prwt-* 'to turn, become': *prwt-* Man. Lett. ii 6, B. *prw'st-* VJ 1107; *zwrt-* 'to (re)turn': Chr. *\*zwst-* v. § 871, B. *zw'rst-* P 2, 241; *pw'rt-* 'to turn away' Sogd. 16, 7 b, B. (?) *pw'rt-* SCE 50. 98: *pw'st-* § 14.

(b) Chr. *'mpd-*: *'mpst-*, B. *'npt-*: *'np'st-*, 'to fall'.

Bailey, BSOS x 575), Pašto *žw-* (EVP 106), against OPers. *živa-*, MPers. *zyw-*, Parth. *jyw-*, NPers. *ziy-*, *žive*. [v. Trans. Phil. Soc. 1942, 50].

579<sup>1</sup> *mn' L' nm'y 'pz'rn't* (Infin.) 'never mind about afflicting me' [sic] VJ 1457 sq. [v. Add. to § 818.]

(c) *pyāt* : *pyast* 'to adorn'. *py't* *Sogd.* 17, 24, B. *py't* *SCE* 171, *py't* *DN* 81 : *pyst* *M* 178 i R 28. V 23. 27, B. *py'st* *Dhy* 180. 359. 363. *Dhu* 36. 223, *'py'st* *SCE* 523.

586. (8) -δ-.

(a) *βjyδδ* 'to mount' : *βjyst* ; *'wjyδδ* 'to dismount' : *'wjyst* ; cf. §§ 376. 342 fn. 1.

(b) Chr. *prwyd*-, B. *prw'yδ* 'to seek' : S. *prwyst* *X* 1 ii R 21.

(c) *ptβyδ* 'to recognize, know', v. § 187 : B. *ptβyst* *Dhy* 14, *ptβyst* *O*<sup>2</sup> 39 (H.), Chr. *ptβst* § 867 (H.).

(d) B. *rwδ* 'to grow' *Frg.* iii 5. *Vim* 30 : Man. *rwst* *M* 178 i R 29.

(e) *nyδ* 'to sit' : Chr. B. *nyst*-, v. *Morgenstierne*, *BSL.*, 24, 205.

(f) B. *pr'yδ* 'to sell', Past stem B. *pr'(\*)δt*-, Chr. *pryθt*-, v. § 122 fn.

587. (9) -θ-. *wryδ* *Sogd.* 16, 4. *Man. Lett.* ii 9 : *wryst* ; *ptryδ* : *ptryst* ; 'to mix', v. *BBB* p. 69 on 560. < *pat* + *'niδya*, *'ništa* (433).

588. (10) -p-. Chr. B. *wyt'p* 'to illuminate', § 216, Chr. *ftyp* 'to shine', § 318, for the Past stem cf. B. *tβt* *SCE* 205. 234. 274, S. *ptβt*-, § 850 ; Man. *pryp*-, B. *pr'yp*-, 'to lead, take', Past stem Chr. *\*pryft*-, v. *BBB* p. 96 on b 72, cf. §§ 205. 614.

589. (11) -β-. *γwβ*-(*γōv*-) 'to praise' *M* 264 A 22. *SCE* 338 : *γwβt*-(*γwvd*-).

590. (12) -f-. *w'f* 'to weave' : *wft*-, v. § 274.

591. (13) -c-.

(a) *pts'c* 'to arrange, fix' : *ptsyt* ; *pswc* 'to purify, clean' *M* 178 ii R 2 : *pswyt* *M* 664, 5. *M* 674, 18 ; *pryc* 'to abandon' *M* 894 i 3 : Chr. *pryt* ; *w'c* 'to send, let go' *Kaw.* C 13, *w'št* 3 Sg. Pres., v. § 260 : B. *wyt*-, cf. *BBB* p. 56 top.

(b) *ywc* 'to teach' : *ywxt*-, v. § 56.

592. (14) -r-.

(a) Pres. stem light (cf. § 515, in B. sometimes heavy, v. § 492), Past stem heavy (cf. § 486). *βr* 'to bring' : *βrt* ; *δβr* 'to give' : *δβrt* ; *škr* 'to lead' : *škr* ; *xwr* 'to eat' : *xwrt* (cf. §§ 879. 927) ; Chr. *pcmr*-(*pčmar*-) ii 6, 46 (*pcmr* 2 Sg. Impt., v. *BBB* p. 100 fn. 1) : Man. *ptšmrt*-, *ptšmyrt*-, B. *ptšmyrt*-, Chr. *pcmr*-, v. § 486 fn. 2.

593. (b) Pres. stem and Past stem light. *myr*-(cf. § 185) : *mwrt*-(v. § 518) 'to die'.

(c) Both stems are heavy. *βyr* 'to obtain' : Man. Chr. B. *βyrt*-, B. *Anc. Lett.* (°) *βy'rt*-, v. § 90 ; *šm'r* 'to think' : B. *šm'rt* *VJ* 1026.

594. (15) -z-.

(a) Chr. B. *pyz* 'to beat, throw' : B. *pyšt* *O*<sup>2</sup> 17.

(b) *umrz* 'to spoil', v. *BBB* p. 100 on e 7 : *wmšt*-, v. § 147 ; *\*frmrz*-, v. § 617 : *frmšt*-, v. § 529.

595. (16) -ž-.

(a) From OIr. ž. Man. *twj*-, Chr. *twž*-, 'to pay', cf. § 128 : *twyt*-.

(b) From OIr. z, cf. §§ 188-91. 197. Man. *xwj*-, B. *γwyz*-, 'to wish', from *\*χwāzaya*-, v. § 232 (cf., with the old z, Man. Chr. *šyrx/γwzy* 'friend', § 57) : *xwšt* ; &c.

596. (17) -s-.

(a) Chr. *dys* 'to build' i 21, 16 : Man. *δyšt* *M* 776, 10, B. *δšt* *VJ* 14<sup>b</sup>.

597. (b) *npys* 'to write' *M* 915, 4. 22 : *npxšt* *T* i *D*, v. § 257.

598. (18) -š-.

(a) *fryš* 'to send', § 198, Past stem *fryšt*-.

(b) *nyyš* 'to spoil' : S. *n(y)št*-, v. § 549.

(c) *zryš* 'to hurt' : *zryšt*-, v. *BBB* p. 56 on 492.

(d) *prgyš* 'to imprison' : *prkšt*-, v. *BBB* p. 96 on b 74.

(e) *ptywš*-(*ptyōš*-) 'to hear' : *ptywšt*-(*ptyušt*-), cf. § 176.

599. (f) Chr. *spš*-, B. *'sp'yš* 'to serve', v. § 192, Past stem *'spxšt*-, v. § 257, which gave rise to a secondary Pres. stem Chr. *spxš* *ii* 5, 34, *sp'xš* i 31, 5 (*spaχš*-).

600. (19) With internal *n*, *m* (OIr. nasal infix, or belonging to the root).<sup>1</sup>

(i) -nč-.

(a) Man. *pδδync* 'to pull' *M* 502 1 6, *p](δ)ync* *M* 548, 2, B. *pδ'ync* *SCE* 263, Past stem *pδδ'yt* *M* 343, 3, (*p*)*δδ'yt* *M* 356, 15, cf. also B. *prδ'yt* 'to spread' *VJ* 19<sup>b</sup>. 346. 862. From *\*θan'jaya*-.

(b) *ptmync* 'to dress' *M* 134 i R 2. *M* 530, 14. &c., Past stem *ptmwyt* ; *\*frāminč* 'to undress', cf. § 327.

(c) Chr. *pšync* 'to spill' ii 6, 10, Past stem Chr. *pšyt* i 81, 14 ; Man. *\*šync* 'to pour', Past stem B. *\*'šyt*-, v. § 634.

(d) *zrync* 'to save, deliver', Past stem *zryt*-, v. § 542.

(e) B. *βtr(\*)ync* 'to oppress', v. § 153, Past stem Man. *βtryt*-, B. *'βtryt*-, v. § 152 b.

(f) *mrync* 'to destroy', v. § 153.

601. (ii) -nd-.

(a) Man. *'γwnd* 'to cover', quoted § 807 : *'γwst* *M* 133, 63, cf. *BBB* p. 76 on 616.

600<sup>1</sup> On the Pres. Infinitives *'wznz*, *βjynd*, *'wjynd*, v. § 342. On the base *zn/rs*-, v. § 343.

- (b) *frkrnd*- 'to cut': S. *frkst*-, v. § 152.  
 (c) *'wsynd*- *Man. Lett.* ii 13, 'to crush, break', from *√sid* (H.).  
 (d) *synd*- *Kaw. G* 2, *synd*- *M* 133, 14, 'to bind': *βyst*-.

## 602. (iii) -mb-.

- (a) *sumb*- 'to bore, pierce' *M* 135 i 11. 13. 51, B. *sunp*- *SCE* 89: *swßt*- *M* 135 i 40. 55, B. *swßt*- *SCE* 89.  
 (b) Chr. *'ymp*- ii 6, 22, B. *'y'np*- *SCE* 130, 'to pervert': *Man.* *'yßt*- *Sogd.* 16, 11 a.  
 (c) B. *pδ'wm*-: *\*pδwßt*- 'to stick', v. § 453.

## 603. (20) Suppletive stems.

- (a) *'ys*- 'to come': *'yt*- (from *ā-gata*-) Intrans. 'to come', Trans. 'to bring', v. *BBB* p. 74 on 588; *prys*- 'to reach', B. *pr'ys*- 'to reach' and (*VJ* 1096) 'to hand over': *Man. Chr.* *pr'yt*- 'to reach' *M* 135 i 59; *tys*- 'to enter': *tyt*-, v. § 661. Cf. on all three, § 539.  
 (b) *δ'r*- 'to hold': *jyt*-, v. *BBB* p. 64 top.  
 (c) *w'β*- 'to speak': *wyt*-, Chr. *γwd'r*-, v. §§ 167. 421.  
 (d) *βw*- 'to become' v. §§ 787 sqq.: *'kt*-, v. § 804.  
 (e) *x*- 'to be', cf. § 786: (*w*)*m't*-, v. § 803.  
 (f) *'βr*- (cf. § 653): *'yt*- 'to bring',<sup>1</sup> v. sect. a.  
 (g) *šw*-: *xrt*- 'to go', cf. Tedesco, *ZII* ii 35 sq.

## 604. (21) Denominatives.

- (a) B. *n'mt* 'is called' *VJ* 151. 412. 48<sup>d</sup>. *Dhu* 95. *Dhy* 388. 389, from *n'm* 'name'.<sup>1</sup>  
 (b) *ptfr'w*- 'to remember', from Chr. *ptfr'w*, Acc., i 82, 4, *Man.* *ptfr'wy*, Obl., *T* ii D 63 a 19, *ptfr(w)yy* Obl., *M* 133, 99, 'memory, remembrance', v. *BBB* p. 88 on 756; Past stem *ptfr'wt*-, and B. *ptβr'wt*-, v. § 537. [v. Addenda.]

## The Augment

Cf. Reichelt, *Geiger Festschrift*, 248 sqq.

605. (i) A point of special interest with the Imperfect, is the fate of the OIr. augment and some Sogdian innovations with regard to its treatment.<sup>1</sup>

Generally one can say that the augment was lost initially (acc. to

603<sup>1</sup> Cf. Yaghn. *ūr*:-: *uxt*- 'to bring'. cf. *diwar*-, *diyāta*-

604<sup>1</sup> In the sentence B. *pwt'k ZY my 'sty snk'swtr n'mt* 'I have a book called *Samgha-Sūtra*' *T* iii S 313, 11 sq., it is not clear whether *n'mt* is acting as a verb or forms a compound with *snk'swtr*. The latter could also be the case in *VJ* 412. 48<sup>d</sup>.

605<sup>1</sup> On the augment used outside the Imperfect, v. §§ 638 fn. 871.

§ 82), but preserved in internal position (viz. between a preverb and the stem of a verb).

In the latter case, if the preverb had a final vowel, this would contract with the following augment, in such a way that *-a*+augment > *ā*, *-i*+augment (viz. *-ya*-) > *i* (v. § 202); the notable exception is *abi*-, which in the Imperfect appears as *vā*- (§ 619).

606. With preverbs ending in a consonant (except *ham*-, § 608), *-i-* is used as the augment, following the proportion *parwart*- (Pres., from *pari-warta*-, cf. § 164): *pariwart*- (Impf.) = *zward*- (Pres., from *uz-warta*-): *ziwart*-.

607. In some cases such a proportion affected even Pres. stems which never had a preverb (§ 629); on the strength of, say, *zward*:-: *ziwart*-, the Pres. *snāy*- 'to wash' (from OIr. *\*snāya*-) was given an Impf. *sināy*-.<sup>1</sup>

608-9. The preverbs *ham*-, *han*-, *ā*-, received special treatment, based on an exchange of suitable elements differentiating the stem of the Imperfect from that of the Present (cf. *BBB* p. 66 bott.). *ā*-+augment, would still have given *ā*- (cf. § 612 fn.); *ham*-+augment became *mā*- (cf. § 397) which was lengthened to *mā*- under the influence of *wā*- (from *awa*-+augment), and used also for the Imperfect of Present stems with the preverb *ā*-. On the other hand, where *ham*- appeared as *an*-, *ma*- was modified to *man*-.<sup>1</sup>

## 610. (ii) Imperfects with no augment.

(1) Verbal stems without preverb.

(a) Light stems. *ps*' 3 Sg., *M* 135 i 21, *ps'nd* 3 Pl., *M* 118 i R 10. V 8, 'to ask'; *kwn*' 3 Sg., 'to do, make' *BBB* b 92; *βrw* 1 Sg., 'to bring' *M* 137 V 7; *cf*' 3 Sg., 'to steal' *M* 133, 11; B. *zyβ*' 3 Sg., 'to bite', v. Benv., *Notes* iv 518;<sup>1</sup> *Man.* *wβ*' 'became', v. § 798.<sup>2</sup>

607<sup>1</sup> Reichelt, art. cit., 253 sq., has a different explanation of Imperfects like *syn'y*-.

608<sup>1</sup> It is possible that this arrangement was due to the interchange between the preverbs *an*- (*am*-) and *ā*-, on which v. §§ 656 sqq. A curious compromise between *mā*- and *man*-, is S. *nā*- for a Present in *ā*- or *an*- (before *p*-) in *n'prs* 3 Sg., *Anc. Lett.* ii 39, *n'prsw* 1 Sg., ib. 44, either from B. *'prs*- 'to take leave' (thus H.), or from Av. *ham-fras*- 'to consult'.

610<sup>1</sup> Benveniste's remarks suggest that he takes the *y* of *zyβ*' to be the mark of the Imperfect. In that case the form to be expected would be *\*zyβ* (*ziv*). *y*, which here stands for *ə* (cf. § 27), is also met with in B. *zyβty* 3 Sg. Pres., *T* iii 263 i 25, and B. *zyβ'y* 3 Sg. Opt., *P* 3, 84. 86. For the Past stem v. § 536.

610<sup>2</sup> Acc. to Benv., *Grammaire*, 45, and Reichelt, art. cit., 248. 254, the initial ' of B. *'β*', 3 Sg. Impf. from *βw*-, represents the old augment (transferred analogically also to the 2 Sg. Impf.).



624. (3) Of Presents with the preverb *pr-* (from *pari-*). Man. Chr. *pryšt'y* 3 Sg., 'to prepare' *Sogd.* 52, *Frg* s 2. *ST* ii 6, 16 (v. *BBB* p. 98 fn.); *prywt* (mistake for *\*prywyrt*) 3 Sg., 'to transform', v. *BBB* p. 94 on b 52; *prywt* 3 Sg., 'to turn, become' *M* 910 ii 2; *pryqyš* 3 Sg., *M* 129 R 12, *prykyš* *M* 133, 15, 'to imprison'; *pryšyrnd* 3 Pl., 'to tell, explain' *M* 134 ii V 10.

625. (4) Of Presents with the preverb *w-/wy-*, v. §§ 212 sqq. *wyxnš* 3 Sg., 'to deliver' *Man. Lett.* i 31; *wywwšnd* 3 Pl., 'to rejoice', v. § 213 fn. 1; B. *wyr'yc* 3 Sg., *VJ* 437. 38<sup>c</sup>. 518. 586, *wyr'yc'nt* 3 Pl., *VJ* 35<sup>b</sup>, 'to pour out'.

626. (5) Of Presents with the preverb *n-* (from *ni-*, v. §§ 676 sqq.). *nym'y* 3 Sg., 'to judge' *M* 135 i 35; *nyšk'w* 3 Sg., 'to pull, take out' *M* 133, 57; *nyšyδ'nd* 3 Pl., 'to place' *M* 178 ii V 12. 15, B. *nyš'yδ* 3 Sg., *VJ* 864. 1358; B. *nyyuntw* 3 Sg., 'to dress, put on' *VJ* 93, Chr. *nyywynt*, Caus., 3 Sg., ii 5, 27; Chr. *nypys* 3 Sg., 'to write' i 30, 1.

627. (6) Of Presents with the preverb *z-, s-* (from *uz-, us-*). *zyryšw* 1 Sg., 'to hurt, damage' *BBB* 514 (cf. ib. p. 56 on 492); B. *zyw'rt'nt* 3 Pl., 'to turn, come back' *VJ* 386. 397, S. *zyw'rt'nt*, Caus., 3 Pl., *T* *M* 389 a R 3; Man. *syxw'y* 3 Sg., *M* 129 V 12, *syxw'yy* *M* 118 i R 14, *syxw'yynd* 3 Pl., ib. V 5, 'to take, lift', but cf. S. *'syw'y*, § 612; *syfryn* 3 Sg. "to create" *M* 178 ii R 19.

628. (7) Of Presents with the preverb *t-* (from *ati-*, v. § 661 sq.). B. *tyk'wš* 3 Sg., 'to look' *VJ* 789. 821; on B. *tyny* v. § 630; on B. *tys* v. § 614.

629. (8) Of Presents with no preverb (§ 607). *šym'ruw* 1 Sg., *BBB* 513, *šym'r* 3 Sg., *M* 840 b ii 4, 'to think' (Pres. *šm'r-*); *šykr* 3 Sg., 'to lead' *M* 135 i 29 (Pres. *škr-*); *šyyr* 3 Sg., 'to call' *M* 178 ii V 10. *T* ii D 117, 25 (Pres. *šyyr-*); B. *syn'y* 3 Sg., *VJ* 12. 33<sup>b</sup>. &c., *syn'y'n* 3 Pl., *VJ* 869. 1436, 'to wash' (Pres. *sn'y-*).

630. (9) If the Present already shows a *y*, standing for *y*, *i*, or *iy*, where one would expect the mark of the Imperfect, we may assume that in the Imperfect the same *y* represents *ī(y)*. This is suggested by the B. spelling *n'y's* 3 Sg., 'to take' *VJ* 36<sup>b</sup>. 848. 1194 (*nīyās*; Pres. B. *ny's* *VJ* 1021. *Frg* iii 23. &c., and *'ny's-*, cf. § 171; in Man. the Imperfect appears as *ny'sw* 1 Sg., *M* 697, 3, *nyy's* 3 Sg., *BBB* b 82. *M* 129 R 9; B. has *nyy's-* in *Frg* ii<sup>a</sup> 26); it is confirmed by Chr. *pcyufs* (*pčiyufs*, heavy) 3 Sg., 'to be transformed' i 16, 7, from the light-stem Pres. *pcyufs-*, v. § 175.

Other examples are S. *ptiyy'm* (*ptīyām*) 3 Sg., 'to finish, to complete' *T* *M* 389 a V 39 (Pres. *p(a)tyām-*, § 580); Man. *ptiyyms*, *ptiys*, B. *pty'ms* *Padm* 22 (*ptīyams*) 3 Sg., 'to finish (Intrans.)' (Pres. *ptiyams-*,

v. § 176); Man. *ptyy'p* (*ptīyāp*) 3 Sg., 'to reach', § 1236, from *\*pati-āpaya-*; B. *tyny* (*tīnai*) 3 Sg., 'to lead' *VJ* 1351, cf. § 662; Man. *nyjyy* (*nīžai*) 3 Sg., 'to go out', Pres. *nīžay-*, cf. the side-form *nīž-* which is treated as a light stem (§ 568 fn.); B. *wytr* *VJ* 49<sup>b</sup>. 278, *wytr* *VJ* 828. 1116 (*wītar*), 3 Sg., 'to go on, pass, pass away' (cf. B. *wytr't* 3 Sg. Subj., *VJ* 365, *wytr'ty* 3 Sg. Pres., § 213 fn. 2, *wytr't* Inf., *VJ* 299, &c. (*wītar-*)).

631. (10) The preverb *y-* possibly becomes *ī-* in the Imperfect, judging by the spelling *'yaxw'y* 'he separated', v. § 220.

632. (v) Imperfects in *mn-* of Presents in *'n-* (cf. § 608). *mnxz* 3 Sg., *M* 880, 6, *mnxz'nd* 3 Pl., *BBB* 545 'to rise'; *mnz'nw* 1 Sg., 'to confess, profess' *BBB* 614; *mnc'y* 3 Sg., 'to stop' *M* 760, 5. *T* ii D 66 b 27; *mnxwy* 3 Sg., 'to break, infringe' *M* 778, 11; *mnβxš* 3 Sg., 'to divide' *T* ii D 116, 33. *M* 356, 12 (Pres. *'nβxš-* *M* 655, 14); *mns'c'nd* 3 Pl., 'to fix' *M* 178 ii R 24; *mnšt'yw* 1 Sg., 'to show' *M* 410, 37; *mnwz'n* [d 3 Pl., 'to assemble' (Intrans.) *M* 692, 11; B. *mnpt* 3 Sg., 'to fall' *Frg* ii<sup>a</sup> 17, cf. § 633.

633. (vi) Imperfects in *m'-* (cf. § 608).

(1) Of Presents in *am-*: Man. *m'(pt)* 3 Sg., 'to fall' *T* ii D 79 a 3 (Pres. Chr. *'mpd-* i 3, 4, B. *'npt-* *SCE*), against B. *mnpt*, § 632.

634. (2) Of Presents in *ā-*: *m'y'z* 3 Sg., *T* ii D 66 b 32, *m'yzym* 1 Pl., *Man. Lett.* i 8, *m'y'z'nd*, *m'y'znd*, 3 Pl., *T* ii B R 3. 6, 'to begin', but cf. *'y'znd*, § 612; *m'p'y* 3 Sg., 'to perceive' *Sogd.* 31, 9; *m'msw* 1 Sg., 'to plough' *Sogd.* 16, 10; *m'zyrw* 1 Sg., 'to hurt' *BBB* 538; *m'βr* 3 Sg., *M* 130 i R 1. *M* 601, 5, *m'βrnd* 3 Pl., *BBB* 643, 'to bring'; *m'k'nd* 3 Pl., 'to fill', v. § 475; *m'sync* 3 Sg., 'to pour' *M* 356, 10 (Pres. *'šync-* ib. 11, Past Partic. Fem. B. *'šych* *P* 3, 12b); *m'qwc'nd* 3 Pl., 'to hang (Trans.)' *M* 178 ii V 30; Chr. *m'ywnt* 3 Sg., 'to cover' i 16, 18.

#### Verbal Particles

(i) *sk(wn)*, *k(n)*, 635-45.

(ii) *k'm*, *k'n*, 646-51.

(iii) *x't*, 652.

635. (i) Man. *skun*, *sk*, *kn*, *k*. Durative function.<sup>1</sup> These particles also occur in Chr., where *skun* is usually spelled *sqn*. B. has only (*'*)*skun*, KB. *skun* and *skunw*.

A. Waag has studied the use of these particles in Chr. (*ZDMG* 90, 144 sqq.), and established that there the forms without *s* are re-

635<sup>1</sup> B. has also a durative particle *'štn*, derived from the Pres. stem *hišta-*, v. Benv., *Grammaire*, 39.

stricted to verbal forms ending in *-t* or *-d*. This is also the case in Man. On the employment of *sk* in Man., it is not possible to state any particulars, except that it is much less frequent than *skwn*.

*skwn* compares with the verbal stem (?)*skw-* 'to stay' (cf. *ST* i 102 fn.) and the noun (?)*skwn* '(duration =) age (H.)'² [v. Addenda].

636. (1) *skwn*.

(a) Present Indicative. For examples v. *BBB* p. 134, s.v.

637. (b) Imperfect. *γrβ'skwn* 3 Sg., 'knew' *M* 135 i 64; *kn'skwn* 3 Sg., 'was digging' *Man. Lett.* i 18; *t'sndskwn* 3 Pl., 'were cutting' ib. 19; *B. tylk'wš'nt'skwn* 3 Pl., 'were looking' *DN* 7.

638. (c) Optative (with the value of a Preterite).¹ *wβyndskwn* 3 Pl., 'became' *T* ii *D* 63 a 2; *syyskwn* 'she took', *sn'yyskwn* 'she washed', *Man. Lett.* i 21.

639. (d) *-āz-* Preterite (cf. § 814). *Man. šw'zskwn* *T* ii *D* 117, 20, *šw'* (24) *zskwn* ib. (quoted *BBB* p. 60) 'he was going'.

640. (2) *sk*. *δ'rsk* 3 Sg. Impf. of *δ'r-* 'to hold' *M* 483, 2; *γw'sk* 3 Sg. Impf. of *γw-* 'to want' (?) *M* 769, 1; [*y*]*sndsk* 'they are coming' *Sogd.* 21, 27; Chr. *b'sq* 3 Sg., 'was' i 32, 16; *Man. wyntysq* *T* ii *D* 12, 3 (out of context), 3 Sg. Pass. 'is seen' (H.), v. § 706.

641. (3) *k*. (The function of *-k* in the following examples, has been established by H.) *prwyrk* 'he transforms' *M* 684, 6; *myndk* 'is similar' *S* 6 hl.;¹ *skundk* *S* 40 ii *R* 2, 'skundk' ib. *V* 6 'they are, stay'; *fryštk* 'sends' (?) *S* 40 i *V* 3 (out of context).

642. (4) *kn*. In Man. only *βwtkn* *T* i *D* 51 (no context) = Chr. *bwign* i 81, 14, probably continuous Present.

643. (5) The following forms of heavy Present stems, with an aleph before *skwn* or *sk*, raise difficulties, partly because the Man. examples belong to unclear or mutilated passages:

(a) *skwn*. *ptsynd'skwn* *M* 617 ii 10, from *ptsynd-* 'to agree, be

635² *Man. cn ryncq skwn mrt'sr* 'from childhood on till now' *M* 617 ii 29; *B. 'wyh zrwylh'skwny* 'in old age' *P* 2, 152; *B. 'sty ZKZY tyw'k'skwny čstuw'n* 't ny'zkykn βwt 'PZY m's'k skwn'y š't βwt 'there is that one who in his youth is poor and indigent, but in his old age rich' *SCE* 30 sqq.; cf. also the adj. 'skwnyck, Pl. 'skwnyckyt, 'present, contemporary' *Man. Lett.* ii 10. 11.

638¹ The simple Optative, when used as a Preterite (which only happens in B. texts), can take the augment, cf. *w'pl'y* 'it fell' *VJ* 1022, *mnc'y'y* 'she ceased' *VJ* 1116, *L' p'yryš'y* 'he did not mix' *O* 8. For the Optative used as a Past tense in Avestan, Sanskrit, and Kuchean, v. W. Couvreur, *BSL* xxxix (1938), 247 sq.; for Khotanese v. Bailey, *BSOS* x 593.

641¹ *yn* ii . . . . *s'r myndk* 'the following two hymns are similar (in melody) to . . . .'

pleased'; *šm'r'skwn* *M* 127 R 5, from *šm'r-* 'to think'; *rδyf'skwn* *M* 141 R, from *rδyf-* 'to shine'.

644. (b) *sk*. *p]frynd'sk* *M* 600, 3, from *ptfryn-* 'to greet'; *xw]j'p'sk* ib. 4, from *xwj-* 'to wish'; Chr. *d'r'sq* ii 5, 32, from *d'r-* 'to hold'; Chr. *p'w'sq* ii 6, 8, from *p'w-* 'to endure'.

645. (c) *ptsynd'skwn* is preceded by (*š*)*m'x*, hence is likely to be 2 Pl. Pres. (from *ptsynd-t'skwn*). Chr. *d'r'sq* and *p'w'sq* have the function of the 3 Sg. Impf., which may also be assumed for Man. *šm'r'skwn* and *rδyf'skwn*; comparing Chr. *d'r'sq* with Man. *δ'rsk* (§ 640), it is tempting to accept Waag's suggestion (art. cit., 142) that the Chr. forms have resulted from *-āz-* Preterites + *sq*;¹ the spelling *šw'zskwn* (§ 639) for *šawāskun*, would be an older form, cf. *ptcxš-* for *pčaxš-*.

On the other hand, if these are not *-āz-* Preterites, aleph preceding the particle may be merely euphonic, or represent the light-stem ending of the 3 Sg. Impf. introduced for euphonic reasons. The same applies to *xw]j'p'sk* and *ptfrynd'sk*, if these are 3 Sg. Impf. Middle (cf. §§ 709 sq.).

The last two, however, may be 3 Sg. or 2 Pl. of the Present. If 3 Sg., their aleph would have to be taken for a euphonic vowel; if 2 Pl., they would be similar to *ptsynd'skwn*.

646. (ii) *Man. B. k'm*, less frequently *k'n*; Chr. *q'*, *g'* (*ST* i, v. Salemann, *Izv.*, 1913, 1140 sqq., and *B* 49, 8; cf. also § 448), *q'n* (v. Telegdi, *JA*, t. 230 (1938), 229). This particle is usually added to the Present Indicative, giving it the value of a Future; sometimes it is used to reinforce the Subjunctive, the Optative,¹ or the Precative.

Although the various forms of this particle appear to belong to various dialects, one Man. text, *T* ii *B*, has both *k'm* (*βwtk'm* 'it will be' *V* 5) and *k'n* (*prš'ymk'n*² 'we shall prepare' *V* 3). *-kām* is used for the Future also in Khwārezmian, v. H., *ZDMG* 90, \*34\*.

647. (1) *k'm*.

(a) With the Present Indicative. *pc'yitq'm* 'it will be convenient' *BBB* d 2 sq.; *jwtk'm* 'he will live' *M* 127 *V* 6; *swmbtk'm* 'he will

645¹ There is no need to extend this explanation to the light stems *KB'skw'skwnw* (Hansen, 27, Waag, loc. cit.), *Man. γrβ'skwn*, *kn'skwn* (§ 637), *γw'sk*, Chr. *b'sq* (§ 640), where the aleph can be accounted for as the ordinary ending of the Imperfect.

646¹ The Optative followed by *k'm*, *k'n*, has perhaps the meaning of 'to be about to', judging by *VJ* 100 and *P* 3, 53. 123.

646² Acc. to H., *kām* resulted from *kām* by dissimilation to the *-m* of the ending of the 1 Sg. and Pl.

bore' *M* 135 i 51; *βwtk'm*, § 646, and *M* 591, 7; *ny w'c'mk'm* 'I shall not allow' *Kaw.* C 13; *βyndmq'm* 'I shall bind' *T ii D* 117, 31; *myryyk'm* 2 Sg., 'you will die' *M* 127 V 8; *myrtyk'm* 'he will die' ib. 9; *fry'mδ'k'm* 2 Pl. (possibly Subj.) \*'to finish' (H.) *M* 399, 5; *S. swysδ'k'm* 2 Pl., 'you will burn' *JRAS*, 1944, 138, 14.

648. (b) With the Subjunctive. *β'k'm* *M* 135 ii 13, *wβ'y(k'm)* *T ii D* 66 b 34, 3 Sg., 'will (or should) be'; *S. δ'r't k'm* 3 Sg., 'to hold' *Anc. Lett.* ii 46; *B. w'β' k'm* 2 Sg., '(if) you want to say' *Vim* 19; *βδ'yz' k'm* 2 Sg., 'you wish to \*clean' *Dhu* 286; *L' βyδ' k'm* 'do not give' *VJ* 69.

649. (c) With the Optative. *B. δβ'r'y k'm* 'I am about to give' *VJ* 100; *Man. qδ' . . wβ'yk'm* 3 Sg., 'when . . will be' *M* 140 V 7; Optatives are perhaps also *Man. wβ'yk'm* 2 Sg., '(so that) you will be' *T ii D* 117, 32, and *pcy'yq'm* 2nd or 3rd Sg., 'to suit, be useful', ib. 29.

(d) With the Optative-Imperative, v. § 753.

(e) With the Precative. *myrytyq'm* 'he shall die' v. § 809.

650. (2) *k'n*.

(a) With the Present Indicative. *βwtk'n* 'will be' *M* 771, 16. *T ii D* 52 a 6. *M* 118 ii V 3; *βyrt'k'n* 2 Pl., 'you will obtain' *M* 894 i 4; *βymk'n* 'we shall be' *M* 771, 10; *prš'ymk'n*, v. § 646; *B. βyr'm k'n* 'I shall find' *Frg ii* 19; *pswysty k'n* 'will be cleared' *Frg iii* 70 sq.

651. (b) With the Optative. *B. šw'yk'n* 3 Sg., '(if) he is about to go' *P* 3, 53; *kwn'yk'n* 'he is about to make' *P* 3, 123.

652. (iii) *x't*. A secondary Subjunctive can be formed by adding *x't*, 3 Sg. Subj. of 'to be' (§ 773), to the Indicative, v. *BBB* p. 65 on 527. *'kriyy [s]tyy x't* 'should have been made' *M* 116 V 12; *qδ'rmx't* '(if) I have done' ib. 10; *'styy x't* 'should be' ib. 15; *pryc't x't* 2 Pl., 'you should abandon' *M* 894 i 3.

# Preverbs

*ā-*, 653.

*ā-*: *ham-*, 656-9.

*abi-*, 660.

*apa-*, 660.

*ati-*, 661 sq.

*awa-*, 663.

*upa-*, 663.

*us-*, *uz-*, 664 sq.

*ham-*, 654 sq.

*para-*, 666.

*parā-*, 667.

*pari-*, 668-70.

*pati-*, 671-4.

*frā-*, 675.

*ni-*, 676-8.

*niš-*, 679.

*wi-*, 680.

*wi-+ā-*, 681.

653. (i) *ā-*, Impf. *mā-*, § 634. *βr-* 'to bring' *M* 356, 13. *T ii D* 167 iii 14; *(')fryn-* 'to pray, bless', *B. βrym-*, cf. § 579; *βyδ-* 'to wish'; *βz-* 'to begin' *M* 120, 7. *M* 133, 38; *βwnd-* 'to cover', cf. § 601; *βjy-* 'to be born', § 182; *βny-* 'to lead', cf. § 569; *βyfs-* 'to be perverted', cf. § 827; &c.

Not clear is *βtz* 2 Sg. Impt., *M* 117, 8 (meaning unknown).

654. (ii) *ham-*.

(1) *m-* before *p* (which becomes *b*, v. § 304). Imperfect *m'-* and *mn-*, v. § 633. Chr. *'mpd-* 'to fall'; *Man. 'mbyr-* 'to fill', v. § 544. Cf. Chr. *'mbrz*, § 655.

655. (2) *n-* before other consonants, including *β, f, w*. Impf. *mn-*, v. § 632. *Man. 'nβrz βr-* 'to receive (guests)' v. H., *Trans. Phil. Soc.*, 1944, 117, bottom, but Chr. *'mbrz br-* i 30, 13; *'nfr'sy*, Acc., *M* 135 ii 52 ('juridical) inquiry'; *'nc'y-* 'to stop'; *'ndwzs-* 'to strive'; *B. 'nt'c* 'crowd'; *Man. 'nzw'y-* 'to infringe'; *'nwyj-* 'to collect'; &c.

656. (iii) The preverbs *ā-* and *ham-* sometimes interchange, though rarely within the same dialect. [v. Addenda.]

(1) *Man. 'γrt-* *Sogd.* 29, 6: *B. 'ny'rt-* 'fertile, juicy, rich'.

(2) Chr. *'žwny*: *Man. 'nj'wny*, *S. 'nz'wny* 'σωτήρ', v. § 894.

657. (3) Chr. *'z'n-*: *Man. B. 'nz'n-* 'to confess, profess', cf. *BBB* p. 76 on 614.

(4) Chr. *'šty-*: *Man. B. 'nšt'y-* 'to show'.

(5) Chr. *'brz* and *'mbrz*, *Man. 'nβrz*, *B. 'nβ(')rz* *VJ* 254. 1337, 'reception', cf. § 655.

658. (6) Chr. *'wzy*: *Man. 'nw'zkyy*, Obl., v. § 986, *B. 'nw'z'k* 'meeting, crowd', v. *BBB* p. 79 on 649.

(7) Chr. (and *Man. ?*) *'wysn-*: *Man. S. 'nwysn-* 'to introduce, initiate', v. § 547.

(8) Chr. *'yz-/xšt-* 'to rise', *xyž-* 'suscito': *Man. 'nax-*, *'nyz-*, *B. 'nyz-*, v. § 55.

659. (9) *Man. 'x's*, Chr. *'x's*: *B. 'ny'()* 'struggle', v. *BBB* p. 88 top.

(10) Chr. *'xwny*, Abl.: *Man. 'naxwnc*, *S. 'nywny*, Obl., *X I ii R* 16, 'struggle', cf. § 1004.

(11) Chr. *'ym* 'end' i 18, 3. 19, 13. 20, 5, *B. 'y'm*: *Man. 'ny'm* *M* 178 i R 9. *M* 882, 5.

660. (iv) *abi-* becomes (a)v-; before *a*, (a)vy-, in *S. (')βy'rt-*, v. § 90. On *βywn-* v. § 434. Impf. *vā-*, v. § 619.

(v) *apa-* becomes (a)p-, v. § 89. Impf. *pā-*, v. § 616.

655<sup>1</sup> *Vim* 73. *DN* 5, *'nt'cy* Obl., *Padm* 39, *wysp* *'nt'c* *Vim* 67 'all' (Weller), < \**ham-tāša-*.

661. (vi) *ati-*.

(1) *tys-* (*tis-*) 'to enter', from *ati-*+*isa-*, § 539 (on the Impf. v. § 614); Past stem *tyt-* from *ati-*+*gata-*, cf. Parth. *'dyh-*/*'dgd-*, H., BSOS x 944 fn. 1, and Man. Chr. *ty'm* 'ford' *M* 769, 3. *ST* i 60, 1, B. *ty'm* *VJ* 64°. *Vim* 3. 4.

662. (2) *txyz-* 'to descend, set', in Man. *xwr m'xyy txyyz* 'the setting of sun and moon', cf. § 1639, and *xwrtxyz kyr'n* 'West'.

(3) B. *tyny-* 'to lead into, take', *tyny'ty* Inf., v. § 537, *tyny* 3 Sg. Impf., v. § 630.

(4) *tkwš-* 'to look', cf. § 551; Impf. B. *tyk'wš-*, § 628.

663. (vii) *awa-* > *ō-*, v. § 83 fn. 1. Impf. *wā-*, v. § 618. *'wzz-* 'to descend', § 342; *'wsty-* 'to place', § 552; *'wz'm-* 'to condemn', § 584; &c.

(viii) *upa-* > (*ə*)*p-*, cf. (*ʔ*)*pst-* 'assistance', (*ʔ*)*pzt-* 'place of origin', § 99. Impf. *pā-*, cf. § 616.

664. (ix) *us-*, *uz-* > (*ə*)*s-*, (*ə*)*z-*. Impf. *sī-*, *zī-*, § 627.

(a) (*ə*)*s-*. *sfryn-* 'to create', cf. § 579, from *\*us-frīn-*; Chr. *swy'-*, *swx'y-*, B. *syw'y-*, S. *'syw'y-*, cf. §§ 417. 567 fn. 612, 'to lift, take', from *\*us-xwāhaya-*.

665. (b) (*ə*)*z-*. Man. *zwrt-*, *'zwrt-*, 'to (re)turn', from *\*uz-warta-*, v. § 99; *zrync-/zryt-* 'to deliver', v. § 542; *zryš-* 'to hurt', v. BBB p. 56 on 492; B. *zyrβ-* 'to exalt' *SCE* 522, Pass. B. *zyrwβs-* 'to be raised', cf. § 153 b.

666. (x) *para-*. Chr. *prbxš-* 'to deliver, betray', v. BBB p. 76 bottom; S. *pry'nš-/pry'št-* 'to separate', v. BBB p. 55 top (cf. § 343); B. *prw''c-* 'to slander' *SCE* 81, cf. *prw''k* 'slander' ib. 440. 549.

667. (xi) *para-*+*ā-*. *pr'ny-* 'to lead', v. § 569; *pr'kn-* 'to sow', v. BBB p. 72 on 570; B. *pr'yδ-/pr''δt-* 'to sell', v. § 122 fn.; *prys-* (*parēs-*)/*pr'yt-* 'to reach', v. § 603.

668. (xii) *pari-*.

(1) > *par-*, cf. § 164. Impf. *parī-*, v. § 624. *prδys-* 'to build', v. BBB p. 56 bottom; *prβrt-*, Past stem, 'to cross (arms)', v. *Sogd.* 23 top; *prwrt-* 'to turn, become'; &c.

669. (2) > *pary-* before *ō* in *prywj-* 'to be victorious' *Sogd.* 16, 9, cf. H., *ZII* ix 228.

670. (3) Contracted with a following *ā*: *pryp-* 'to lead, take', < *pari-āpaya-*, v. §§ 205. 614; cf. also *pryβyy* 'cloud' < *\*pari-abra-*, § 202.

671. (xiii) *pati-*.

(1) > *p(a)t-*, cf. § 164. Impf. *p(a)tī(y)-*, v. §§ 622. 630. *ptβyδ-* 'to recognize'; *p(t)cxš-* 'to receive'; *ptywδ-* 'to conceal'; *pt'r'm-* 'to calm, appease'; *pty'm-* 'to finish'; &c.

672. (2) > *p(a)č-*, v. § 275. *pcywβt-*, Past stem, 'to praise'; *pckwyr-* 'to fear'; *pcwz-* 'to meet' *T ii B R* 17; Chr. *pcywfs-* 'to be transformed', Impf. *pčiyufs-*, v. § 630; &c.

673. (3) *pt-* and *pc-* convey different meanings when used with the same verbal stem. Man. *pt[γ]rβ-* *Sogd.* 25, 29, B. *ptyrβ-* 'to understand' *SCE* 556. *Padm* 56. *Dhu* 92. 121. 283, 'to feel' *SCE* 406 (happiness). 564 (joy), 'to place (an order or book upon one's head)' v. *ST ii* 604; B. *pcyrβ-* 'to accept, receive' *SCE* 369. *Vim* 147. *Dhy* 240. *DN* 65. 67. 71. 83. 87; *pt'xw'y-* 'to kill': *pcxw'y-* *M* 794 b 7, 'to interfere, hinder', cf. *BBB* p. 59 top.

674. (4) With *-ā-* (only nominal forms).

(a) *p'cr't* 'reward', from *\*pati-rāta-*, v. *BBB* p. 130.<sup>1</sup>

(b) *p'ckrt* '(in) place (of)', from *\*pati-kṛta-*, v. *BBB* p. 77 bottom.<sup>1</sup>

(c) B. *p'cy'm* 'false, unreliable' *ST ii*.

(d) Man. *p'tcnyy*, Chr. *p'cyny* (miswritten *p'cyy* in *ST i* 18, 5), 'reply', not attested in B., cf. Lentz, *ST ii*, s.v. *pcβ'nt*;<sup>2</sup> connected acc. to Bailey, *JRAS*, 1930, 19, with Arm. *patasxani*, acc. to Benv., *JA*, t. 225 (1934), 183, with Hebrew *ptšgn*.

(e) The *-ā-* of Man. Chr. *p'tfr's* 'torment' *M* 617 i 8. *ST ii* 1, 76, is borrowed from Parth. *pādifrās*, MPers. *pādīfrāh* (H.).

675. (xiv) *fra-*. Impf. *f(r)ā-*, v. § 617.

(1) Remains *fra-*, v. §§ 324-30.

(2) Becomes *f(a)-*, v. §§ 315-20.

(xv) *fra-*+*ā-*. On the Impf. v. § 615.

(1) Remains *frā-*, v. §§ 325. 327. 329.

(2) Becomes *fā-*, v. § 322.

676. (xvi) *ni-*. Impf. *nī(y)-*, v. §§ 626. 630.

(1) *n-*. Man. *nβndyh*, B. *nβ'ntk* 'bridle'; Man. *nβyr-*, § 536, B. *nβ'yr-* *Dhu* 145, 'to plan, deliberate, take counsel' (H.), cf. S.

674<sup>1</sup> H., *BBB* p. 77 fn. 5, dismisses a connexion between *p'cr't* and Chr. *p'crty* ii 6, 29. The latter, however, does seem to mean 'reward' rather than 'place', in which case *-rt-* (= *-rat-*) would be shortened < *rāt*, acc. to § 121. Hence we should have the following series of words:

(1) Man. *p'cr't*, Chr. *p'crty* (Obl.), 'reward', from *\*pati-rāta-*.

(2) Man. *p'ckrt* '(in) place (of)', from *\*pati-kṛta-*.

(3) Chr. *pcrw* 'instead of', from *\*pati-karam*, v. § 247.

(4) B. *pc'rt* (*c'wn*, *cnn* . . . *pc'rt* 'because of, for the sake of' *P* 2, 236, 345), from *\*pati-kart-*, v. § 247.

674<sup>2</sup> [B. *p'c'yn* *P* 15, 25, is to be read *p'r'yz-*]



*nβ'yr(kh)* § 973, c; Man. *nfrywn* (§ 1084) 'curse', *nfrywn-ryk* (§ 1015) idem, *nfryt* Voc. Sg. (§ 1253), Chr. *nfrytyty* Voc. Pl. (§ 1259), 'accursed', cf. Bailey, *BSOS* vii 281; Man. *ny'd* *M* 672 ii 10, B. *ny'd'kh* *Intox. Sūtra* 36, Chr. *ny'd*, 'prayer'; Man. *nxrys-* 'to reproach' *BBB* pp. 75 sq.; Man. *nywδn*, Chr. *nywδn*, B. *ny'wδn*, 'garment'; Man. Chr. *nywš-*, B. *ny'wš-*, 'to listen'; B. *nk'np-* *SCE* 98. *Dhy* 9/Man. *nqβt-* *M* 133, 51, 'to bend'; Chr. *nm'y-* 'to judge'; Man. Chr. B. *nm'n-* 'repentance', v. *BBB* p. 92 on b 25, cf. Khot. *nimāna*, *E*; Man. Chr. *npys-*, B. *np'ys-* 'to write'; *nw'rt* 'provocation' *BBB* p. 82 top; Man. *nwyδm*, B. *nwyδmh*, 'invitation', v. *BBB* p. 98 on c 43, cf. also *nwyδm* *Türk. Man.* iii 30 line 11 (H.), and B. *nw'yδ-* 'to invite' (v. H., *BSOS* ix 85); Man. *nxw'y-*, B. *nyw'y-*, 'to pound' *BBB* p. 59.

677. (2) *ny-*<sup>1</sup> Man. *nyšty-*/B. *nyš't-* 'to order, suggest', v. § 561; Chr. *nyšqwx/γd'r-* 'ἐκβάλλω', cf. § 56. Possibly also Man. *nyzβ'ny*, B. *nyzβ'n'k* 'passion', v. *BBB* p. 66 on 537.

678. (3) *n-* and *ny-*<sup>1</sup> Chr. *nšyd-*, B. *nš'yδ-* *VJ* 1118: B. *nyš'yδ-* *SCE* 529 'to plant, place'; B. *np'yδ-* 'to lay down' *VJ* 1138: B. *nypδ-* 'to lie down' *SCE* 324; Chr. *nšqr't*, B. *nšk'rt*: Chr. *nyšqr't* 'meaning, definition', v. *ST* ii, 589 c; B. *nškw-* 'to extract' *Frg* iii 64. *Vim* 162. *DN* 32. Rosenberg *Frg* 13 (*Izv.*, 1927, 1380, cf. pp. 1386. 1398): Man. *nyšk'wnd* 3 Pl. Pres., *M* 108 V 5, *nyšk[w]t* *M* 904 ii 10 (end of line).

679. (xvii) *niš-*. No safe example, apart from *nyjy-* 'to go out', § 568. Possible are B. *nšγ(?)wst-*, Past stem, 'to lacerate', v. *BBB* p. 59, from *°χwasta-* (not certain in view of Av. *šx* inst. of *šv* from *x*°, v. Barth., *Gdr. Ir. Phil.* i 182, N° 45), and Chr. *nyžtw-* 'to announce', v. § 575.

680. (xviii) *wi-*.

(1) Spelled *wy-* § 216 sq., *w-* § 218, *wy-* and *w-* § 219. Becomes *w-* § 213, *u-* § 214, *w-* or *u-* § 215. Impf. *wi-*, § 625.

(2) Becomes *y-*, Impf. *y-*, v. §§ 220, 631.

681. (xix) *wi-+ā-*. Man. *wy'βr-* *T* ii *D* 117, 42, B. *wy'βr-*, 'to talk', Man. *wy'βrtyy* 'speech', v. *BBB* p. 80 on 662.

677-81. Apart from Imperfects.

## VERBAL INFLEXION

## The Personal Endings

Conspectus<sup>1</sup>

Singular			
	1st	2nd	3rd
Present Indicative . . .	-m, -m, 682	-y 693, - 700 (?)	Light: -ty 704 Heavy: -t 707
Subjunctive . . .	-m 683; -n 685 -n 684	-y 698 - 703 (?)	-t 711
Optative . . .	Chr. B. -y 689	-y 695, - 703 (?)	-y 713
Injunctive . . .	Chr. B. -w 688		
Imperfect. . .	-w 687 - 691	-y 696 - 702	Light: -y 712 - 715 Heavy: -t 714
Middle Imperfect . . .	-tw 690	-ty 699	Light: -t 710 Heavy: -t 709
Imperative . . .		Light: -y 697 Heavy: - 701	
Passive . . .			-ty 706
Plural			
	716-21	Man. 737 Chr. 738 S. 739-54	755-9

## 1st Singular

682. (1) -am (spelled -m or -m), from -āmi.

(a) Present Indicative. *γrβ'm* 'to know' *M* 135 i 27; *'skw'm* 'to be' *BBB* 759; *ptškwym* (*pčkwayam*) 'to say' *BBB* 748; *'p'ym* (*āpāyam*) 'to consider' *BBB* a 10; *'zyrm* *δβyšm* 'to hurt and injure' *BBB* 483; &c.

683. (b) Future. *w'c'mk'm* 'to allow', *βyndmq'm* 'to bind', v. § 647; *'smk'm* 'to take' *Man. Lett.* i 29.

684. (c) Subjunctive. Only Chr. *wn'm* 'I should do' i 42, 2.

<sup>1</sup> For the endings of the Precative see § 805, of the Irrealis §§ 815. 821 sq., of the Intrans. Pret. § 861.

685. (2) *-ān* and *-an* (spelled *-n*, B. also *-n*, and *-n*), from *-āni*. The use of *-n* or *-n* may sometimes have been directed by considerations of spacing (cf. § 80). **Subjunctive:**

(a) *-(n)*. Man. B. *myn'n* 'to stay, be' *M* 579, 12. *VJ* 534; *'ys'n* 'to come' *M* 579, 13; *prw(rt)n* 'to become' ib. 16; B. *wy'rš'n* 'to deliver' *VJ* 40<sup>b</sup>. 42<sup>b</sup>. 384; *cβ'n* 'to steal' *DN* 79; *šw'n* 'to go' *VJ* 1056 (end of line).

686. (b) *-n*. *β'wn* (*vāwan*) 'to go, approach', v. § 573; *'nc'y(n)* (*ančāyan*) 'to remain' *Sogd.* 50, 7; *'wstyn* (*ōstayan*) 'to place', § 552; *ptzw'yn* (*patxwāyan*) 'to kill' *Kaw.* C 6; *prβyryn* (*parvēran*) 'to explain' *M* 591, 20 (end of line); *ywcn* (*yōčān*) 'to teach' *M* 794 a 2; *wyšn* (*wyašan*) 'to rejoice' *M* 834 ii 2; B. *wy'ršn* 'to deliver' *VJ* 60<sup>b</sup>. 533 (end of line); B. *'ps'wcn* 'to clear' *Frg* iii 68; B. *pw'rtn* 'to turn away' *DN* 82; B. *py'tn* 'to adorn' *DN* 81.

687. (3) *-u* (spelled *-w*, B. *-w* and *-w*), from *-am*, cf. § 349.

(a) **Imperfect.** Man. *δβrw* 'to give', § 621; *pryurtw* 'to become' *M* 410, 12; *wynw* 'to see', § 611; *m'msw* 'to plough', § 634; B. *pt'ywšw* 'to hear' *VJ* 430. 577; B. *wn'w* 'to make' *T* iii 5 23 (I) &c.

834<sup>23</sup> 688. (4) **Injunctive** (H.). Chr. *θbrw* 'to give' i 61, 11. 15. B. *'γ'zw* 'to begin' *P* 6, 77 (H.), used as Irrealis, cf. S. *wm'pw*, § 822.

(c) **Future Injunctive** (H.) B. *prβ'yrw k'm* 'to explain' *P* 2, 1223 (used as Irrealis) [cf. H., *BSOAS* xi 735 line 5].

689. (4) *-ai* (only B. *-y*) [from *-ai(ya)m*].

(a) **Optative.** *zr'ync'y* 'to deliver' *VJ* 102; *wn'y* 'to make' *VJ* 477.

(b) **Future Optative** (cf. § 646 fn. 1): *δβr'y k'm* 'to give' *VJ* 100.

690. (5) *-tu*. Only in *'stw* 'I have taken' *Man. Lett.* i 29 (from *'st* 3 Sg. Impf. Middle (§ 709) + *-u*, ending of the 1 Sg. Impf. (§ 687), cf. *kwndyy* 2 Sg., § 699). On the Precative *šnyštw* v. §§ 805. 807.

691. (6) **Nought. Imperfect:** B. *pt'ywš* 'to hear' *VJ* 62<sup>c</sup>. 509; Man. *ptyškwyy* 'to tell' *M* 135 i 24 (= S. *ptyškw'y* in another copy of this text, *T* *M* 418 R 6).

#### 2nd Singular

692. (1) Man. *-(y)y(h)*, B. *-(n)y*, are used for the Pres. and Fut. Indicative (*-i* from *-ahi*), the Optative (*-ai* from *-aiš*, v. § 387), and the Imperfect (*-i* from *-ah*, cf. § 402). Since the rules prescribing the Optative are not always observed, one cannot be sure that the forms here quoted as Opt. are not meant to be Pres. Indicatives.

693. (a) **Present Indicative.** *γrβyy* 'to know' *M* 135 i 22; *n'jyh* 'to wriggle' *BBB* b 60; *pw'rtyy* 'to turn away' *Sogd.* 16, 7.

694. (b) **Future.** *myryyk'm* 'to die', § 647.

695. (c) **Optative.** *δ'ry* '(if) you hold' *M* 127 V 8; *kδ* *ptxw'yy* 'if you kill' ib. 9; *qδ* *rδδ šwyh* 'if (when) you walk' *M* 765 k 13; *kδ* . . *nywšyy* 'if you listen' *T* ii *D* 117, 29 sq.; *wyspw* *'rk cw 'tymy* *tyw fr'm'yy* 'any work you may order me' *M* 135 i 26; *c'nw* . . *pty'myy* 'when you finish' *BBB* d 11.

696. (d) **Imperfect.** S. *βš'my* 'you sent' *Anc. Lett. (Doc.)* x 7 (v. *BBB* p. 85 on 719).

697. (2) *-*.

(a) **Imperative** of light stems (from *-a*). *γrβ* 'to know' *BBB* f 3. *M* 591, 21. *M* 760, 18; *kwn* 'to do' *BBB* d 13. *M* 767 i 2; *βr* 'to bring' *BBB* e 22; *δβr* 'to give' *M* 767 i 4; &c.

698. (b) **Subjunctive** (cf. *BBB* p. 100 fn. 1), from *-āhi*, cf. § 398. *wryδ'h* 'to mix' *Sogd.* 16, 4; B. *py'rš* 'you should remove' *Dhu* 286; *'YKZY L' tys* . . *rty L' βyr* *Vim* 38, *kδ* . . *L' tys* . . *rtymys* . . *L' βyrt wn* *Vim* 40, 'if you do not enter, you cannot obtain'; &c.

699. (3) *\*-ty*, after *n*, *-dy*. Only in Man. *kwndyy* *M* 655, 4, 2 Sg. Impf. Middle, analogical to *kwnd* 3 Sg. Impf. Middle (§ 710); cf. *'stw*, § 690.

700. (4) **Nought**, with heavy stems only.

(a) **Present Indicative** (?). B. *L' tk'wš* 'don't you see?' *VJ* 801 sq. 904 sq., cf. Tedesco, *ZII* ii 285.<sup>1</sup>

701. (b) **Imperative.** *nyy's* 'to take' *M* 760, 20; *βj'w* 'to add, increase' *M* 767 i 2; *nywš* 'to listen' *M* 591, 20; &c.

702. (c) **Imperfect.** B. *ny'wš* 'you have heard' *VJ* 798.

703. (d) **Subjunctive or Optative.** B. *kδ* . . *'s* 'if you take' *VJ* 1323 sq.

#### 3rd Singular

704. (1) *-ty*, *-dy* (after *n*), with light stems (*-ti*, *-di*).

(a) **Present Indicative.** *δβrty* 'to give', cf. § 492; *kwndyy* 'to do, make' *BBB*; Man. *βrty* 'to bring', cf. § 515; *sndyy* 'to rise' *M* 108 V 1.

705. (b) **Future.** Man. *myrtyk'm* 'to die', § 647; Chr. *θbrtyq* 'to give' i 14, 16. 44, 6. 61, 17.

<sup>700</sup> The difficulty still remains; for elsewhere *tk'wš* does not mean 'to see', but 'to look'.

706. (2) *-ty* for the Present Passive, with both light and heavy stems (*-ti*? v. *BBB* p. 103 on f 37 sqq.), cf. § 540. *jyrtty* 'is called' *M* 118 i V 13; *nyšty* 'is lost', v. § 549; *pš[ky]rtty* 'is expelled' *BBB* f 42; *ptšmyrtty* 'is counted' *BBB* 662, B. *ptšmyrtty* 'is considered' *P* 7, 49; *ptšprty* 'is arranged' *M* 136 V 2 (not certain, possibly Pret.); *šyštty* 'is dispersed' *T* ii *D* 139 ii 11 (doubtful); *wyryndyy* 'is destroyed' *M* 178 i V 18 (cf. § 219); *wyntysq* 'is seen', v. § 640; *xwyndyy* 'is called' *JRAS*, 1944, 143, 25. Cf. also Man. *βnwty* 'trembles', § 576. *Impf. w>sty*

707. (3) *-t*, with heavy stems.

(a) Present Indicative. *nštyt* 'shows'; *sšt* 'oportet'; *tyst* 'enters'; *tkwšt* 'looks'; &c.

708. (b) Future. *sumbtk'm* 'to bore', § 647; Chr. *prbyrtq'n* 'to explain' ii 1, 68.

709. (c) Imperfect Middle of heavy stems (from *-tā*), cf. Tedesco, *ZII* ii 291 sq.;<sup>1</sup> Benv., *Grammaire*, 29; H., *BBB* p. 102 on e 26. B. *st* 'to take', *nywšt* 'to listen', *nškr* 'to pick up, collect'; *wynt* 'to see' *VJ* 1066. *Frg* ii<sup>a</sup> 12;<sup>2</sup> B. *šwt* 'to go' *VJ* 481. 543. 603. 711. 767. 1201.

710. (4) *-p*, *-d* (after *n*), Imperfect Middle of light stems (from *-tā*), cf. § 709. B. *wnt* (v. Tedesco, loc. cit.), Man. *kund* v. H., loc. cit.), 'to do'; B. *kn* 'to dig' (v. *BBB* p. 102 fn. 1); B. *čp* 'has stolen' *SCE* 156. 159; B. *prw yr'm'k* *zwh βrt* 'has turned his greed towards riches' *SCE* 332.

711. (5) *-t* (*-āt*), from *-ātī*,<sup>1</sup> for the Subjunctive. *nyt* 'will be born', § 182 fn.; *škw't* 'to be'; *kun't* 'to do'; &c.

712. (6) *-a* from *-at* (§ 280), for the Imperfect of unaugmented light stems. *kun* 'to do'; *βr* 'to bring, apply' *Kaw.* C 5; *ps* 'to ask' *M* 135 i 21; *čf* 'to steal' *M* 133, 11; *pδwβ(s)* 'to stick', § 453.

713. (7) Man. *-y(y)*, B. *-y*, for the Optative (*-ai* from *-ait*, v. § 280), cf. § 477. *zyry* 'to be hurt' *M* 135 ii 51; *sumbyy* 'to bore, pierce'

706<sup>1</sup> The Inchoative-Passives *pškfšty* and *wjzšty*, quoted there as heavy stems with the Passive ending *-ti*, should rather be considered as light stems (acc. to §§ 168. 177) with the ordinary active ending *-ti*, in view of the heavy-stem 3 Sg. *yfštt* in § 827.

709<sup>1</sup> B. *zyt*, *zyt* 'was born', taken by Tedesco as an Impf. Middle, belongs to § 865.

709<sup>2</sup> *wynt* is clearly a Past tense, against Tedesco, loc. cit. 294 fn. 1.

711<sup>1</sup> Subjunctives in *-ty* still occur in B. texts: *βty*, v. § 799; *škw'ty* 'to be', *šw'ty* 'to go', *stty* 'to take', *VJ* 50-4; *sy'ty* 'to appear', § 550 fn. 2; *zwy'ty* 'to infringe', v. § 541.

ib. i 11; *zwrtty* 'to turn away' *BBB* f 8; *pštwy* 'to renounce' ib. 10; B. *ysy* 'to come' *VJ* 138; *wym'y* 'to see' *VJ* 240; &c.

(8) Chr. *-y*, S. *-(y)* (*-ē*) for the Irreales *st'y*, *βwt(y)*, *wm'ty*, cf. § 821.

714. (9) No ending is used with the Imperfect of

(a) heavy stems *βw* 'to go, approach', § 573; *βyr* 'to obtain', *βyynd* 'to bind', *šš* 'to scatter', § 611; *nyy's* 'to take' *M* 133, 16; *xyr* 'to go' *M* 760, 1; *ptyškwyy* 'to say', § 622. Exceptions § 614 n.

715. (b) augmented light stems: *ptyfs* 'to read', § 622; *šykr* 'to lead', § 629; B. *šβr*, Chr. *rbr*, 'to give', § 621; Chr. *pcywfs* 'to be transformed', v. § 630.

#### 1st Plural

716. (i) The usual ending is *-ym*; in S. also *-ymn* is found, which seems to be regular in the *Anc. Lett.*;<sup>1</sup> in Man. we have *-ym'n* once.

The ending *-ym* of the Optative may represent Av. *-aēma*. From the Optative it spread to the Pres. Indicative, Subjunctive, and the Imperfect, acc. to Tedesco, *ZII* ii 287, while Benveniste, *Grammaire*, 30, assumes this ending to have been generalized from *īm* 'we are', and from the 1st Pl. of the Intrans. Pret.

717. (ii) *-īm*.

(1) Present Indicative. *nyδym* 'to wish' *BBB* a 11; *škwym* 'to be' *M* 107 i 11.

718. (2) Imperfect. *ptycxšym* 'to receive', *ptyrw(šym)* 'to hear', § 622.

719. (3) Subjunctive. *c'nw ty pš'cym w' m'n* *fcmbδδ* 'how shall we build this world?' *M* 178 ii R 6 sq. [S. *wysym*, Addenda to § 825].

720. (4) Optative. *šryym* 'let us keep' *T* ii *B* V 18; Chr. *ptz'w'ym* 'to kill' i 21, 8; *ny'sym* 'to take' ib. 9.

721. (iii) S. *-ymn*<sup>1</sup> (*-īman*). Except for the Impf. *mnt'ysymn* 'we fled' (H.) *P* 13, 11, it is often difficult to decide to which tense or mood the ending belongs. *wyn'ymn* (if) we can see (you)' *Anc. Lett.* i 2; *L' z'n'ymn* 'we do (or did) not know' *Anc. Lett.* ii 17; *šr'ymn* 'to hold' ib. 26; *pcp'ymn* 'we expect' ib. 56; *nm'cyw βr'ymn* 'to pay homage' *Anc. Lett.* vi 3; *kt* . . . *nš'tymn* 'in order that we may show' *P* 13<sup>bis</sup> (*Rustam*) 10; *βyr'ymn* 'to obtain' *Dhu* 292: *c'γwn'k ZKw m'n wst'ymn*<sup>2</sup> 'how shall we dispose the mind?' *SCE* 552 sq.; *wyδβ'y*

716<sup>1</sup> *-ymn* compares with Khwār. *-ānni*, cf. H., *ZDMG* 90,\*32\*, and with Khot. *-āmane* (Subj.).

721<sup>1</sup> Once, *-ymnyy*: *βymnyy* *Anc. Lett.* ii 29, from *β-* 'to be'.

721<sup>2</sup> B. *wstyt'n* *Vim* 45, is probably to be read *wstymn*.

*wn'ymn ZY prβ'ym* [sic] 'we shall preach and explain' *P 2, 734 sq.*  
Cf. *'ymn* 'we are', § 778.

(iv) *-ym'n*, only in Man. *wβym'n*, v. § 801.

### 2nd Plural

722. (i) There are, unfortunately, too few examples in Man. texts, and many of them in obscure passages, to enable us clearly to define the function of the three endings *-t'* (*-d'* after *n*), *-δ'*, *-δ*, that are used with Present stems.

This is all the more regrettable as the treatment of these endings is different from the one found in B. and in Chr. texts, which again are at variance with each other.

As far as one can see, *-t'* has become, in Man. texts, the ending of the Pres. Indicative, though some traces of *-δ'* and *-δ* with the Present are still found. Otherwise *-δ'* and *-δ* seem to be reserved for the Imperative and the Subjunctive; as regards their distribution according to the rhythmic law, the usage varies in the various manuscripts, presumably acc. to the period to which they belong and the provenience of the scribe by whom they were written. Thus, *BBB Frg f* uses *-δ* for the Imperative and the Subjunctive of heavy stems, *-δ'* with *kun-* (light), but *M 135 ii* has *-δ'* in Imperatives of heavy stems, and *T ii B* uses *-δ'* with the Imperative of both light and heavy stems. See the conspectus, § 737.

### 723. (ii) *-ta*.

(1) Two forms strongly suggest that *-t'* is the ending of the Pres. Indicative, viz. *pryc't'x't* *M 894 i 3*, Periphrastic Subjunctive of *pryc-* 'to abandon', and *βyr't'k'n* ib. 4, Future of *βyr-* 'to obtain', because both *x't* and *k'n* are usually added to the Pres. Indicative (cf. §§ 650. 652).

724. (2) Next there are some forms with the durative suffix *-sk(wn)*, which may be Pres. Indicatives in *-t'*: *p]t'frynd'sk* 'to send greetings'; *xw]j't'sk* 'to wish'; *'šm'x δ'r]t'j'sk*, *T i a*, 'you hold'; (*'šm'x p]tsynd'skun*, from *p(a)tsind-* 'to be agreeable'). They have been discussed in §§ 643-5.

725. (3) Other forms in *-t'* may be Pres. Indicatives, but their function cannot be established with certainty: *pcšt'h* 'to taste' *Sogd.* 36, 24; *fryyδt'* 'to do penance' ib. 16, 17; *'yst'* 'to come' ib. 21, 25; *δ'rt'* 'to hold' *M 746 c 14*.

726. (iii) *-θa*. *-δ'* is used for the Imperative and the Subjunctive, irrespective of the rhythmic value of the stems concerned.

### (1) Imperative.

(a) Light stems: *znδ'* 'to bring forth' *T ii B R 19*; *škrδ'* 'to bring along' ib. V 2; *kwnδ'* 'to make' *BBB f 62*.

727. (b) Heavy stems: *šwδ'* 'to go' *T ii B R 16*; *p(c)wzδ'* 'to meet' ib. 17 (but cf. § 175); *'βrδ'* 'to bring' ib. V 2; *n' t'kwšδ'* 'don't look' ib. R 14; *'ndwzšδ'* 'to strive' *M 135 ii 14. 25*; *δ'rδ'* 'to keep' ib. 18.

### 728. (2) Subjunctive.

(a) Light: *'rt'kδ'* *'šm'x* . . . *'skwšδ'* 'if you are' *T i D*.

729. (b) Heavy: *w'nw t'ly* . . . *pryysδ'* 'so that you may reach' *M 135 ii 28*.

730. (3) Apart from a few forms with no context to guide us, viz. *j'yrδ'* 'to call' *T ii D 12, 13*, *'βrδδ'* 'to bring', *'[n)yδ'* 'to lead', (*p]t'βyδδ'* '?', all three in *M 356, 13 sq.*, and apart from *xw]δ'* 'to wish' *M 399, 12* and *p]t'škw]yδ'* 'to tell' *M 617 ii 1* which may be either Imperatives or Subjunctives, there is a possible Subjunctive of the Preterite in *xwštw δ'rδ'* *M 617 ii 12* '(since, or if)' you have been wishing'.

731. (4) *'rβδδ'skun* 'to know' *M 672 i 11*, *xwrδ'skun* 'to eat' *BBB f 76*, both light stems, are perhaps durative Presents.

732. (iv) *-θ*. *-δ* appears with a number of heavy stems, where it must or can be taken as an Imperative ending; yet it is also used for the Subjunctive.

(1) A series of Imperatives is found in *BBB Frg f*: *p'yδ* 'to look after' 56; *δ'rδ* 'to hold' 57; *p]t'fr'wδ* 'to remember' 70; *p]twyδt'* 'to hand over' 54 (cf. § 302).

733. (2) *frm'yδ* *BBB d 8. 10* = NPers. *be-farmāyid*, *n' frm'yδδ* 'please do not' *M 617 i 27*, are likely to be Imperatives, though the Optative cannot be excluded. *'xwyrδ* 'to make eat' *Sogd.* 50, 3 b, *'ysδ* 'to come' ib. 21, 24 a, and *nxwyδδ* 'to crush' *T i*, may be Imperatives.

734. (3) *p]tcxš-* 'to receive' seems to be treated as heavy stem in the Imperative *p]tcxšδ* *BBB f 52*. Cf. § 176.

735. (4) *-δ* is used for the Subjunctive in *prysδ* 'to reach' *BBB f 55*, and *prwyδδ* 'to cause to become' ib. 58. 68 (v. § 456).

736. (5) In the Preterites *prš't'δ'rδδ* 'to prepare' *M 134 i V 3*, and *βr]δ'rδδ* 'to bring' *M 617 ii 6*, the ending of *-δ'r-* must be that of the Present.

730<sup>1</sup> Not expressed, cf. § 1695.

737. (v) These being the forms attested, it is possible, with due reserve, to suggest the following provisional scheme for Man.:

Pres. Ind.	{ - <i>p</i> , ordinary ending, 723-5. - <i>δ</i> , before <i>skwn</i> , 731. - <i>δ</i> , with - <i>δ'r</i> - Preterites, 736.
Imperative and Subjunctive.	{ Light stems: - <i>δ</i> , 726. 728. Heavy stems: either - <i>δ</i> , 727. 729, or - <i>δ</i> , 732-5.

738. (vi) In Chr., the only ending of the 2nd Pl. is -*p*, except in the fragment *T ii B 35*, where the same distinction prevails between the Present and the Imperative, as in Manichean:

Present. *d'rṭsq* 'to hold' i 81, 15 (cf. also the -*δār*- Pret. *qṭrṭ* ii 1, 25); *θbrṭsq* 'to give' ib. 16.

Imperative. *wstṭyθ* 'to put' i 34, 3; *sθ* 'to take' i 81, 9. 12; *pcy'zθ* 'to receive' ib. 13; *xwrθ* 'to eat' ib. 9.

739. (vii) For texts in Sogdian writing, the following picture can be gained, mainly from the *VJ* and *T M 389 a*.

(1) -*δ* (light and heavy).

(a) Present Indicative: *wynd* (heavy) 'to see' *VJ* 1102; *šk'yrδ* 'skwn' 'you are being led' *VJ* 1282 sq.

740. (b) Future: *wnd'k'm* (light) 'to do' *VJ* 1095. Heavy, v. § 834.

741. (c) Imperative.

(a) Light: *γwnd* 'to proclaim' *VJ* 75; *βrδ* 'to hold' *SCE* 216.

742. (β) Heavy: *zw'rtδ* 'to come back' *VJ* 9<sup>b</sup>; *šwδ* 'to go' *VJ* 75.

743. (d) Subjunctive (light): *kδ m'yδ L' kwnd* 'if you don't do so' *T M 389 a R 18*.

744. (e) Present or Imperative (light): *kwnd* 'to make' *VJ* 1122.

745. (f) Present or Imperfect (heavy): *wynd* 'skwn' 'to see' *VJ* 1377.

746. (2) -*δ* (heavy only).

(a) Present: *wst'yδ* 'to put' *T M 389 a R 16* (possibly Opt., cf. §§ 751. 553); *tk'wšδ* 'to look' *VJ* 1101.

747. (b) Imperfect: *p'r'yδ* 'to remain, be left' *JRAS*, 1944, 138, 5.

748. (c) Imperative: *pcy'zδ* 'to receive' *VJ* 958; *γwyzδ* 'to wish' *VJ* 1215; *nyδ* 'to fetch' *VJ* 1381; *L' PZY r'yδ* 'do not cry' *VJ* 8<sup>b</sup>; *py'mδ* 'to heal' *T M 389 a R 14*.

749. (d) Present or Imperative: *pyzδ* 'to beat' *VJ* 1122.

750. (e) Trans. Pret. with *δ'r*:- *swytwδ'rδ* 'to burn' *X I ii R 17*; *prwystδ'rδ* 'to cause to be' ib. 21; *pr'ytd'rδ* 'to abandon' ib. 6; *šm'rδ'rδ* 'to think' ib. V 4; *zytδ'rδ* 'to take' *JRAS*, 1944, 137, 4.

751. (3) -*yδ*.

(a) Optative: *wyδ's'yδ* 'to be astonished' *VJ* 1380 (not Pres. Ind., as suggested by Tedesco, *ZII* ii 288); cf. *wst'yδ*, § 746.

752. (b) Optative-Imperative: *w'β'yδ* 'to tell' *VJ* 1334; *šw'yδ* 'to go' *VJ* 1381; *s'yδ* 'to take' *VJ* 165. 25<sup>b</sup>; *γwyz'yδ* 'to wish' *VJ* 160. 178; *spyš'yδ* 'to serve' *T M 389 a V 27*; *wšṭ'yδ* 'to step forward' *T M 389 a R 13*, may belong to § 748, in view of § 558.

753. (c) Future Optative-Imperative: *L' γwyz'yδ k'm* 'do not ask' *VJ* 174.

754. (4) Peculiar forms are the Optatives *šw'yšδ* 'to go' *Dhu* 23 *pt'yrβ'yšδ* 'to understand' ib. 92, which may have a secondary ending derived from the 2nd Sg. *šš* 'you are' + -*θ(a)*, cf. Chr. *yšṭ* (§ 777), and *ptšmryδy* 'to reckon' *Anc. Lett.* ii 45, *pδr'ydyδy* 'to throw away' ib. 46 (v. *BBB* p. 72 on 572), *wnyδy* 'to do' ib. 47, *s'yδy* 'to take' ib. 48, *δβr'ydy* 'to give' ib. 49.

755. (i) -*and*.

3rd Plural

(1) Present Indicative: *ptryδ'nd* 'to mix with' *BBB* f 35; *frqyrnd* 'to be indifferent', *w'β'nd* 'to say', *BBB* p. 74 bottom; *q'mnd* 'to wish' *T ii D 139* i 11. 14, *q'm'nd* ib. 10; &c.

756. (2) Future: *kwn'nd k'm* 'to do' *Man. Lett.* ii 13; *sn'ynd k'm* (*snāyandkām*) 'to wash' ib. 14; &c.

757. (3) Imperfect: *wyn'nd* 'to see' *Man. Lett.* i 18. 20; *βynd'nd* 'to bind' *Kaw.* G 2; *mns'c'nd* 'to fix', § 632; *βr'nd* 'to offer' *Kaw.* V 14; *δβr'nd* 'to give', § 621; &c.

758. (4) Subjunctive: *kwn'nd* 'to do' *M 178 ii R 17*; *zwrt'nd* 'to return' *M 674*, 25.

759. (ii) -*ēnd* for the Optative, contracted from -*ayant* (v. § 203), which is still attested in B. *šm'ry'nt* 'to think' *P* 2, 857, and *Anc. Lett.* *wn'y'nt* 'to do' ii 18, *ny's'y'nt* 'to take' ib. 19. *skwynd* 'to be' *M 135 ii 50*; *qwnynd* 'to do' ib. 53; *p'šynd* 'to sing hymns' *RBB* d 10; Chr. *psynt* 'to ask' i 58, 3; B. *syws'ynt* 'to be worried (lit. burned)' *SCE* 151; B. *γwrynt* 'to eat' *VJ* 17<sup>b</sup>; &c.

## Auxiliaries

760. (i) OIr. *ah-* 'to be'. Some analogical adaptations have taken place, especially with regard to the use of initial *χ* (from *h*). See conspectus, § 786.

(a) Forms directly derived from the equivalent OIr. forms:

1 Sg. Pres.: Man. *'ym M 530*, 5. *M 697*, 8, B. *'ym*, from *ahmi*, v. § 432.

761. 2 Sg. Pres.: Man. *'yš M 137 R 1. 4. 12. T ii D 66*, 1, 9. 11. 13; Chr. B. *'yš i 42*, 8. 47, 15. 58, 3. *VJ 310. 320. 929*; from *ahi*, v. § 432.

762. 3 Sg. Pres.: Man. B. *'sty*, Chr. *sty*, S. *'st ST ii 7*, 3, *Anc. Lett.*, from *asti*.

763. 2 Pl. Pres.: S. *-sδ, -sδδ*, used as Preterite ending, v. § 868, possibly occurring independently as *jsδδh*, *X 1 ii R 9*, from *\*sθa*.

764. 3 Pl. Pres.: (1) Man. *xnd*, B. *γnt*.

765. (2) S. *'nt Vim 62. ST ii 7*, 27. *Anc. Lett. ii 37* (thus } < *hanti*.  
to be read inst. of *'yt*, cf. § 870).<sup>1</sup>

766. 3 Sg. Impf.: B. *'y<sup>1</sup> VJ 40. 345. 346*, from *āha* (Perfect), v. § 401.

767. 3 Sg. Subj.: Man. *'t* (§ 437 fn. 3), S. *'t VJ 297. 1056. 1075. Dhu 50. Anc. Lett.*, from *ahat*.

768. 3 Sg. Opt.: Man. *y't M 617 i 35*, from *hyāt*, cf. *BBB p. 101* on e 12.

769. (b) From *'y* (§ 766) was derived the 3 Pl. Impf. B. *'ynt VJ 28<sup>b</sup>*.

770. (c) From *xnd* (§ 764) the initial *χ* was transferred to other forms:

3 Sg. Pres.: Man. Chr. *xcy*, B. *γcy*, cf. § 372.

771. 3 Sg. Impf.: B. *γ'y (χāi) VJ 16<sup>a</sup>. 14<sup>b</sup>. 16<sup>b</sup>. 19<sup>b</sup>. 343. 60<sup>a</sup>. 64<sup>a</sup>. 857. 862. P 2, 100*, from *χ-+''y* (§ 766).<sup>1</sup>

772. 3 Pl. Impf.: B. *γ'ynt (χāyand) VJ 1241*, from *χ-+''ynt* (§ 769).

773. 3 Sg. Subj.: Man. *x't*, B. *γ't VJ 1448*, from *χ-+āt* (§ 767). On *x't* used as a particle for the Subjunctive, v. § 652.

774. 1 Sg. Subj.: B. *γ'n VJ 1050. 1055*, derived from *χāt*.

<sup>765</sup> On Reichelt's *'yt* 'er war', v. *BBB p. 94* bottom.

<sup>766</sup> Used, apparently, for the Present in *Dhy 211*.

<sup>771</sup> B. *γ'y VJ 913. 917. 920. 921*, if 3 Sg. Opt., has probably a different origin (= *χai*, from *χ-+ai*, ending of the 3 Sg. Opt. (§ 713)).

775. (d) From *'ym* (§ 760), *'yš* (§ 761), the following forms are derived:

3 Sg. Pres.: Man. *'ycy BBB b 78*, with the ending of *xcy* (§ 372).<sup>1</sup>

776. 2 Sg. Impf.: Chr. *'yš i 25. 18. 19*, possibly due to a Syriac idiom.

777. 2 Pl. Pres.: Chr. *'yšt i 71. 3. 83. 5*; cf. B. *'yšδ(?)*, § 754.

778. 1 Pl. Pres.: Man. *'ym M 635 i 4*, Chr. *'ym, 'ym'x* (from *īm+ māχ* 'we') *i 82. 2*, Chr. B. *'ym ST ii 1. 83. 4. 25. O<sup>1</sup> 9* (with *'* analogical to *'yšt* ?), S. *'ym T M 389 a R 34*, B. *'ymn Vim 44*.

779. 3 Pl. Pres.: B. *'ynt in nyztk 'ynt* 'have come out' *Dhy 210*, which, however, may be 3 Pl. Opt., cf. § 852.

780. (e) From *'st* (§ 762) were derived:

(1) B. *'stnt* 3 Pl. Pres., *SCE 35. Vim 64. ST ii 7. 30. 32*. But Man. *st'nd Man. Lett. ii 17* (cf. § 1682). 20, is possibly used for the Imperfect [unless it is 3 Pl. Pret. of *sn-* 'to rise', cf. § 864 (H.)].

781. (2) B. *'st'ynt* 3 Pl. Opt. *Dhy 209*, Opt.-Pret. (§ 638, fn.) *P 7. 9. 11*.

(3) B. *'st't* 3 Sg. Subj., v. § 856, < *ast+āt* (§ 767).

782. (4) B. *'st'y* 3 Sg. Irrealis (H.) 'if there were' *P 2. 164*, 'there may be' *P 2. 997*, *'sty P 2. 1004*, = *astē*, cf. § 821.

783. (f) The abstract *styā*, occurring in Chr. *pr wyny sty'y* 'év éavrō<sup>1</sup> i 62. 6, may be derived from Av. *sti-*, acc. to § 948.

784. (g) Chr. *nyst ST i*, B. *nyst VJ 226. 362*. &c., Man. *nystt* (v. § 73 fn.), 'is not'; with *īm* 'am', Man. *nystym* 'am not', v. *BBB p. 89* on 767.

785. (ii) A stem *'n-* (H.) of unclear origin (cf. MPers. *'n'd, 'n'nd*, cf. A H., *ZII ix 245 sq.*), provides a 2 Pl. Pres. Man. *'n(sδ)' M 617 ii 26*, *'nsδ['] T ii D 52 c ii*, S. *'nsδ' T M 389 a R 12. V 24*. Cf. § 869.

## 786. Conspectus:

		Pres. Ind.	Impf.	Subj.	Opt.	Irrealis
Singular	1	<i>'ym 760</i>	..	B. <i>γ'n 774</i>	..	..
	2	<i>'yš 761</i>	Chr. <i>'yš 776</i>	..	..	..
	3	<i>'sty 762</i>	B. <i>'y 766</i>	<i>'t 767</i>	<i>y't 768</i>	B. <i>'st('y) 782</i>
		<i>xcy 770</i>	B. <i>γ'y 771</i>	<i>x't 773</i>	B. <i>γ'y</i>	
		<i>'ycy 775</i>	..	B. <i>'st't 781</i>	771 fn.	
		..	..	<i>'styy x't 652</i>	..	..

<sup>775</sup> Differently H., *BBB p. 96* (*'ycy* from *hištati*). [v. Addenda.]

<sup>783</sup> [*pr wyny sty'y* translates Syr. *baqnūmeh*, hence *sty' = qnūmā =* 'persona, ipse, substantia, essentia' (H.)].

## Conspectus (cont.).

		Pres. Ind.	Impf.	Subj.	Opt.	Irrealis
Plura	1	'ym Chr. B. 'ym' B. 'ymn 778	..	..	..	..
	2	-sδ(δ') 763 'nsδ' 785 Chr. 'yšp' 777	..	..	..	..
	3	xnd 764 S. 'nt 765 B. 'ynt (?) 779 B. 'st'nt 780	B. 'ynt 769 B. 'ynt 772 st'nd 780 ..	.. .. .. ..	B. 'st'ynt 781 B. 'ynt (?) 779	.. .. .. ..

787. (iii) OIr. *baw-* 'to become, to be', appears in Sogdian as *β-*, *βw-*, and *wβ-*.

(1) From the stem *β-* (*v-*) are derived:

(a) In Man.: *βnd* 3 Pl. Pres.; *βymk'n* 1 Pl. Fut.; *β't* 3 Sg. Subj.

788. (b) In Chr.: all the forms attested, except *bw't* 3 Sg. Pres., *bw't* 2 Pl. Impf., *bw'ty* 3 Sg. Irrealis, *bw'tyšt* 2 Pl. Irrealis.

789. (c) In S.: the same forms as in Man., moreover *β'm* 1 Sg. Pres., *β'n* 1 Sg. Subj., (?)*β'* 2 Sg. Impf. and 3 Sg. Impf., *β'y* 3 Sg. Opt., *β'ym* 1 Pl. Subj. or Opt., *β'y'nt* 3 Pl. Opt., *β'ymnyy* 1 Pl., *β'y* Infin.

790. (2) From the stem *βw-* (*vaw-* before vowels, *vō-* before consonants, cf. §§ 493. 495) are derived:

(a) In Man.: *βwt* 3 Sg. Pres.

(b) In Chr.: v. § 788.

791. (c) In S.: *βwt* 3 Sg. Pres., *βwy* 2 Sg. Pres. and 3 Sg. Opt., *βw'n* 1 Sg. Subj., *βwδ'k'm* 2 Pl. Fut., *βwt'y* 3 Sg. Irrealis.

792. (3) From the stem *wβ-* (*wav-*, metathesis from *vaw-*, v. § 407) are derived:

(a) In Man.: *wβ'm* 1 Sg. Pres.; *wβyk'm* 2 Sg. Fut.; *wβ'* 2 Sg. Impf. and 3 Sg. Impf.; *wβnd* 3 Pl. Impf.; *wβ't* 3 Sg. Subj.; *wβyy* 2 and 3 Sg. Opt.; *wβym*, *wβym'n* 1 Pl. Opt.; *wβynd* 3 Pl. Opt.; *wβyt(y)* 3 Sg. Precative; *wβyny* Partic. Pres.

(b) In Chr.: no forms, v. § 788.

793. (c) In S. (in Manichean texts in Sogdian writing, hence under the influence of the Man. spelling, and in the *Rustam* fragment): *wβ'* 3 Sg. Impf.; *wβ't* 3 Sg. Subj.

794. (4) Hence it can be said that before vocalic endings *waw-*, *vaw-*, and *v-* are used, *wav-* being confined to Man. (and to the

*Rustam* fragm.), *vaw-* to S., and *v-* being common to all three dialects; before consonantic endings all three dialects have *vō-*.

## Paradigm:

## 795. (5) Present Indicative.

1 Sg. Man. *wβ'm*, *wβ'mskun*, B. *β'm* VJ 1134.

2 Sg. B. *βwy* VJ 1340.

3 Sg. Man. *βwt*, B. *βwt*, Chr. *bw't*.

3 Pl. Man. *βnd*, B. *βnt* ST ii, *βnt 'skun* VJ 826.

## 796. (6) Future.

2 Sg. Man. *wβyk'm* (possibly Opt., v. § 649); Chr. *byq'* i 31, 7.

3 Sg. Man. *βwt'k'm*, § 647; Man. *βwt'k'n*, § 650.

1 Pl. Man. *βymk'n*, § 650.

2 Pl. S. *βwδ'k'm* JRAS, 1944, 138, 15.

3 Pl. Chr. *bntq'* ST i.

## 797. (7) Imperative.

2 Sg. Man. *wβ'*, Chr. *b'*, B. *'β'* VJ 225.

2 Pl. Chr. *bw't* i 38, 2.

## 798. (8) Imperfect.

3 Sg. Man. *wβ'*, S. *wβ' T M 389 a R 38. P 13, 7*, B. *'β'* (cf. § 610 fn. 2), Chr. *b'*, *b'sq* § 640.

3 Pl. Man. *wβndt*, B. *βnt* VJ 1441. 1459.

## 799. (9) Subjunctive.

1 Sg. S. *βw'n* Anc. Lett. iii 9, B. *β'n* VJ 530. 1453, Chr. *b'm* i 77, 7.

3 Sg. Man. *wβ't*, *β't*; S. *wβ't T M 389 a R 31*; Chr. *b't*; B. *β't* ST ii; B. *β'ty* VJ 19. 101. 335 (cf. § 711 fn.).

1 Pl. (possibly Opt.): Chr. *bym* i 31, 4. ii 6, 34; B. *β'ym* VJ 801; S. *β'ymnyy*, § 721 fn. 1 (could also be Pres. Ind.). [S. *wβ'ym*, Addenda to § 825].

3 Pl. Chr. *bnt* ii 5, 39, *bnt* ii 1, 63.

## 800. (10) Future Subjunctive.

3 Sg. Man. *wβ't(k'm)* and *β'tk'm*, v. § 648.

## 801. (11) Optative.

2 Sg. Man. *wβyy* § 838; B. *βwy* VJ 52°. 896. 1198.

3 Sg. Man. *wβyy*; Chr. *by*; B. *βwy* VJ 442. 446. &c.; *β'y* VJ 783. 859. SCE 125. 517. P 2, 16.

1 Pl. Man. *wβym T ii D 139 i 12. 13*; *wβym'n (?) T ii D 163 b i 10*.

3 Pl. Man. *wβynd M 135 ii 61*; Chr. *byntqn* (Durat.) ii 6, 26; B. *β'y'nt* P 2, 927.

(12) Future Optative. 3 Sg. Man. *wβyk'm*, v. § 649.

(13) Precative. 3 Sg. Man. *wβyt(y)*, v. § 810.

(14) -āz- Preterite. 3 Pl. Chr. *b'zynt* ii 6, 21, v. § 814.

(15) Irrealis.

3 Sg. Chr. *bwty*, B. *βwt*(<sup>o</sup>)*y*, v. § 816.

2 Pl. Chr. *bwtyš*, § 819.

802. (16) Present Participle.

(a) Man. *wβyny* (Pl. *wβynyš*, § 890).

(b) Chr. *byq*, v. § 897.

802 a. (17) Infinitive. B. *β'y* P 2, 681. P 6, 115 (H.), cf. Baluči *bayag*.

803. (iv) For the Pres. stem \**ah-*, *wm't-* (cf. § 215) and *m't-* provide a Past stem, the former being usual in Man. and S., where *m't-* is rare (Man. only *m't* 3 Sg., *T* ii D 117, 28, and *m'tyš* 2 Sg., *M* 760, 12; for B. cf. Rosenberg, *Izv.*, 1918, 841), while the latter is normal in Chr. (where *wm't-* is only found with -*yq* Participles in *ST* ii, cf. § 897, and Telegdi, *JA*, t. 230 (1938), p. 230). They inflect like ordinary Intrans. Preterites (cf. § 861):

(1) Indicative:

1 Sg. *wm'tym*.

2 Sg. *wm'tyš* Man. Lett. ii 15.

3 Sg. *wm't*.

2 Pl. Man. *wm't*(<sup>o</sup>)*š* *M* 617 i 24, S. *wm'tsδ* *JRAS*, 1944, 137, 2.

3 Pl. *wm'tnd* *M* 110 i R 8.

(2) Subjunctive: B. *wm't* 3 Sg., P 2, 970. P 9, 70.

(3) On the Irrealis ii: 1 Sg. S. *wm'tw*, 3 Sg. B. *wm'ty*, v. § 822.

804. (v) Apart from the stems so far mentioned, the Pres. stem Man. S. *'skw-* (light), Man. Chr. *sqw-*, Chr. *swq-* (Past stem Man. (cf. § 885) B. *'skw't* *SCE* 3. 114, S. *'skwt* (3 Sg. Pret. ?) *Anc. Lett.* ii 26), whose original meaning seems to have been 'to stay, to tarry', and the Pass. Pret. *'kt-* 'to have been made = to have become', are widely used as auxiliaries. Cf. also the use of *kun-* in the Potentialis (§§ 881 sqq.), of *δ'r-* in the Trans. Pret. (§§ 877 sqq.) and the Perfectum Praesens (§ 855), of Chr. *šw-* in the periphrastic Passive (§ 837).

### The Precative

805. The Precative is formed by inserting -*yt-* or -*t-* between the Present stem and the endings, which are -*w* for the 1st Sg., -<sup>o</sup> for the 2nd Sg. (doubtful), -*y* or nought for the 3rd Sg.

Apart from two B. examples, this formation, whose existence and function are a discovery of Dr. Henning's, seems to be confined to Man. texts.

806. (i) 1st Singular.

(1) *βyr-* 'to obtain': *cw mn* <sup>o</sup>*γδyy γwytyy(h) βyrytw cn βy* 'What-ever wish be my desire, may I obtain it from God' *M* 337, 8 sq.

807. (2) <sup>o</sup>*γwnd-* 'to cover', *w'r-* 'to rain', *šnyš-* 'to snow' (v. §§ 450. 452): *pr tw* (3) <sup>o</sup>*γwndytw cwš'm* (4) *yxs w'rytw cn kpwry* (5) *šnyštw*, *M* 137 V (from a poem), translated by H.: 'May I anoint you with the eye-salve *čaxšām* (prepared from the seeds of *Cassia absus* L.), may I rain (on you) the perfume *yaxsa* (cf. *Anc. Lett.* ii 58. P 3, 174. P 7, 108 [v. *BSOAS*, xi 727 sq.]), may I snow camphor on you.'

808. (ii) 2nd Singular. *δ'r-* 'to hold': *δ'ryt* *M* 373, 3 (out of context).

809. (iii) 3rd Singular.

(a) Ending -*y*.

(1) *γw-* 'to want': *γwytyy(h)*, v. § 806.

(2) *wxš-* 'to deliver': *wxšytyy* *M* 672 ii 12.

(3) *šw-* 'to go': *šwytyy* 'may he go' *M* 130 i V 5.

(4) *myr-* 'to die': *myr(y)tyq'm* 'he shall die' *Kaw.* I 3.

810. (b) No ending.

(1) *wβ-* 'to be(come)': *srδng wnwyny wβy(t)* 'may the chief be victorious' *T* i; *šm'x frnyy 'ft'r mwck 'ty xwštyy nyy γwt [w'nw 'ty šm'x] frnxwndky' cn βyštyy 'yindy wβyt* (or *wβyty*) 'your Excellency (H.) does not require many teachers and masters for your splendour to become worthy of the gods' *M* 483, 7 sq. (from a letter). <sup>o</sup>*2-wyt Tals 64*

811. (2) *ptr'ms-* 'to be appeased': B. *mw ptr'w p'zn ptr'ms'yt* 'the remembrance-spirit should calm down' *T* *M* 422, 9 sq.

812. (3) *kun-* 'to make': B. *KZNH ZY wδ'yδ δyw'yδ wy'k ZKw w'r ZY nnp'kw kun'yt* 'so that there, at that very place, he should produce rain and dew' *Frg* iii 14 sq.

813. (4) *šw-* 'to go (sexually)'? (but possibly a different Pres. stem *šw'y-*): B. *rtykδ k'w γwtmt s'r šw'yt 's'il va vers ses parentes'* *SCE* 131.

### -āz- Preterites

814. A Preterite can be formed by adding -*āz-* (spelled -*z-*, but without aleph in Chr. *žyryzn* 'they called' ii 5, 35) to the Present stem, cf. Waag, *ZDMG* 90, 140 sqq.

Attested are the 3rd Sg. (no ending), the 1st Pl. (-*ym*), the 3rd Pl.

807<sup>1</sup> Possibly one illegible letter after *cxš'm*.

814<sup>1</sup> Instead of *žyryzn* ii 6, 22, H. suggests reading *žyrynt* 'they were called' [without excluding the possibility of *žyryzn* being a passive -*āz-* Preterite].



(-nt or -ynt). In Man. only *šw'zskwn* 'he was going' occurs, v. § 639, in B. only *'skw'z* 'he was, stayed'. The remaining forms are Chr.: *w'b'z* 'he spoke', *p'w'z* 'he endured', *nm'y'q wn'z* 'he insulted' ii 6, 8 (thus probably to be read inst. of *w'y'z*), *myn'zym* 'we were', *spxš'znt* 'they used to adore', *nm'y'q qlyt' b'zynt* (from *b-* 'to become', v. Waag, loc. cit.) 'they were insulted'.

On forms such as Chr. *p'w'sq* as possible -āz-Preterites, v. § 645.

The origin of -āz- is not known. Schaefer's explanation of Parth. -āz (apud Waag, art. cit., 144), cannot apply to Sogdian, where OIr. -āt does not become -āz. Moreover, -āt exists in Sogdian separately as -t-, v. § 536.

-ʹz + qʹ B5TII

### Irrealis i

815. Salemann, *Izv.*, 1913, 1144, pointed out the existence of a Sogdian Irrealis (Past tense), characterized by the insertion of -wt- between the Present stem and the endings, which are -y for were 1st and 3rd Sg., Chr. -yšy for the 2nd Pl. This formation does not occur in Man. texts.

(i) 1st Singular. 'ys- 'to come': Chr. 't zw 'yswtly . . . 'καὶ ἐγὼν ἐλθὼν [= ἄν ἦλθον καὶ] . . . (ἄν ἐπαξα)' i 49, 1.

### 816. (ii) 3rd Singular.

(1) βw- 'to be': Chr. [cn 'yqwn ms' ptywšty ny [q]ty qt x[. . .]y<sup>1</sup> [b]wtly (?) 'dy smyntly c[šmy] 'since eternity was it not heard that anybody opened the eyes of a blind one' i 69, 6 sq.; [b]wtly 'yny ny qy'wnyq [m']t' (εἰ μὴ) ἦν οὐτος (παρὰ Θεοῦ) οὐκ ἠδύνατο ποιεῖν (οὐδέν)' i 70, 9; B. 'yw wyspy šyr'k βyrt βwtly rty pyšt z'tk L' βyrt βwt 'any goods (if lost) might be found, but a son cannot be recovered' VJ 369 sqq.; S. 'n'wyn 'YKZY šy ZKh [...] L' βwt'y 'just as if its . . . had not been . . . ' T M 389 a V 20.

817. (2) tys- 'to enter': B. KZNH šy kδ 'ywp't 'wy γwšy tys'wtly 'so that, once (the Sūtra) had entered his ears, . . . ' T ii D 213 (A 5) 30; in the same text 'yswtly 24, tys'wtly 26, in unclear context.

818. (3) δβr- 'to give': B. nm'y ZY 'γω swδšn ZKwh t'γω'kth 'δ'kw δβ'r δβ'rwt'y (corresponding to δβ'rtδ'r'y, 3 Sg. Pret. Opt., in the parallel passage 1034 sqq.) VJ 1023 'Heaven forbid that S. should have given away the children to somebody' [sic]. [v. Addenda.]

### 819. (iii) 2nd Plural.

(1) βw- 'to be': Chr. ] bwtlyšy šm'x . . . ' (εἰ ἐκ τοῦ κόσμου) ἦτε (ὁ κόσμος ἂν τὸ ἴδιον ἐφίλει)' i 71, 2.

816<sup>1</sup> H. points out that the restoration *xwycy* is not possible, because the word is always *xwycq* [and suggests \*py[n]wtly (a slight emendation)].

820. (2) wrn- 'to believe': Chr. *wrnwtlyšy*<sup>1</sup>, corrected by the scribe into *wrnδ'ryšy* 'πεπιστεύκατε' i 75, 7; *pyšt šm'[x]* . . . ny . . . nm'nyqyn qlyšy . . . qt wrnwtlyšy pryw 'and ye . . . repented not . . . that ye might believe him' i 19, 12 sqq.

821. (iv) As to the origin of these forms, it is possible that *bwtly*, which compares with Persian *būdē* (cf. also the Irreales B. *wm't'y*, § 822, and *'st'y*, § 782, with -ē added to the 3 Sg.), was interpreted as consisting of the Present stem β- + *ūtē*, whence the latter element was extended to other Present stems (H.).

### Irrealis ii

822. A second type of Irrealis, with the endings (-'w for the 1st Sg. (cf. § 688), -'y (v. prec. §) for the 3rd Sg.) added to the Past stem, is attested only in Sogdian script, with *wm't-* 'to be':

(1) 'rty 'yw w'tδ'r w'n'kw L' βyrt β'y ZKZY γnd'nyw m'twh 'WZY 'By' L' wm't'y 'and such beings are not to be found, who were not mothers or fathers (etc.) to someone else' P 2, 147 sqq.

(2) 'XRZY prtr 'WZY 'kwty 'PZY 'WZY k'sy wδwh wm't'w 'YKZY tw'xky 'then I would rather be a dog's or a pig's wife than yours' *Anc. Lett.* iii 23 sq. (reading and translation by H.).

### The Passive

823. (i) The Passive can be expressed in various ways.

(1) With some verbs an OIr. passive Present stem survived, v. § 540 sq.

(2) Its Preterite was formed by the old Past Participle and 'to be', v. §§ 861 sqq.

(3) With certain classes of verbs an Inchoative Present stem was used.

(4) A periphrastic combination of an -aka- Participle<sup>1</sup> with βw- (in Chr. also šw-, v. § 837) for the Present, 'kt- for the Preterite, was often employed. (On the combination of an -aka- Participle with \*ah-/wm't-, or 'skw-, v. § 846.)

In this chapter only Nos. 3 and 4 will be dealt with.

824. (ii) Inchoative (on the old Inchoative v. § 539). An Inchoative Present stem can be formed from any Past stem of transitive verbs, whose final -t is preceded by γ (which before s becomes x), x, β (becoming f before s, but cf. § 54), m or n, by replacing the t with s. The stem thus obtained provides a passive or intransitive Present to the original Present stem.

825. (1) Past stem in -yt-. β[(r)'xs- 'to be roasted' (?), v. *Sogd.* p. 40 on 12; βwxs'm 1 Sg. Pres., M 118 ii V hl., βwxs't 3 Sg. Subj.,

823<sup>1</sup> The old Past Participle has been noticed once, v. § 839 a.

*M* 821 i 1, B. *βwys'nt* 3 Pl. Subj., *VJ* 535, *βwysty* 3 Sg. Pres., *SCE* 350, 'to be delivered' (S. *βwc-* *T ii D ii* 169 R. 9. V 20: Man. *βwyt-*, § 509, 'to deliver'); *jxs't* 3 Sg. Subj., \*'to be kept' *M* 891, 18 (*δ'r-/jyt-* 'to keep, hold', § 603); *prxst* (*paraxst*) *M* 430, 3, and *prxstyy* (*praxsti*) *M* 575 ii 4 sq. (context not quite clear), 3 Sg. Pres. (cf. § 177), S. *p'r'ysδ* (*pāraxsθ*) 2 Pl. Impf., § 747, Man. *p'rzs* 3 Sg. Impf., § 616, 'to remain, to be left' (*pryc-/pryt-* (§§ 842. 864) 'to leave, abandon'); *pswxst* 3 Sg. Subj., *M* 107 i 50, S. *'ps'wysty k'm* 3 Sg. Fut., *T M* 389 a V 15, 'to be purified, cleared', B. (?) *ps'wys-* 'to clear (of sky)', v. *BBB* p. 105 on f 87 (*pswc-/pswyt-* 'to purify, clean'); *pt[ymw]xs* (H.) 3 Sg. Impf., 'she dressed herself in (*pr*)' lit. 'became dressed in', *T ii B R* 10 (*ptmync-/ptmwyt-* 'to dress'); *ptxsy* 3 Sg. Opt., 'to be arranged, made' *JRAS*, 1944, 142, 10 (*pts'c-/ptsyt-* 'to arrange'); *wjxstyyh* 3 Sg. Pres. 'to be separated' (*√drang-*, v. *BBB* p. 103 on f 39; cf. § 177); *wxst[y]* 'it is said' 3 Sg. Pres., *Kaw.* V 6, B. *wysty SCE* 179. *Dhu* 277 (*wβ-/wyt-* 'to say, speak', § 603, c);<sup>1</sup> *zrxsym* 1 Pl. 'to be delivered' *T ii D* 66 b 4 (*zrync-/zryt-* 'to deliver', § 542, c).

826. (2) Past stem in *-xt-* (v. § 56). S. *ywysty* 3 Sg. Pres., *SCE* 536, *ywysy* Infin., *X* 1 i V 5, 'to learn', lit. 'to be taught' (*ywc-/ywxt-* 'to teach'), cf. § 428.

827. (3) Past stem in *-βt-*. Man. *'yfstt* 3 Sg. Pres., *T ii D* 117, 4, *'yfsnd* 3 Pl. Pres. or Impf., *T ii D* 32 (*Par.* 46) 'to be perverted' (Chr. *'ymp-/Man.* *'yβt-* 'to pervert', v. H., *BSOS* x 103); Man. *pδwfsy-yny* Pres. Partc., v. § 890, *pδwβ(s)* 3 Sg. Impf., § 453, B. *pδwβsy* Infin., *ST ii*, B. *pδwβsty k'm* 3 Sg. Fut., *Dhy* 373, 'to stick' (Intrans.) (Trans. B. *pδwm-*, v. § 453); Man. *pškfstyy* (*pškafsti*) 'is split' *BBB* f 37 (cf. Man. *ptšk'f*, *BBB* p. 55 bottom); B. *zyrwβs-* 'to be raised', cf. §§ 153<sup>b</sup>. 665.

828. (4) Past stem in *-mt-*. Man. *pty(y)ms* (*p(a)tiyams*, cf. § 630) 3 Sg. Impf., B. *pty'msty k'm* (*ptyamstikām*) 3 Sg. Fut., *Dhy* 322 sq. 'to end', Intrans. (Trans. *ptyām-/p(a)tyamt-*, v. § 580); Chr. *'ymst* 3 Sg. Pres., i 43, 19, *'ymsntq* 3 Pl. Fut., i 8, 9, B. *m'y'ms* 3 Sg. Impf., *Dhu* 289, 'to end' (Intrans.); Man. *w'rms* 3 Sg. Impf., *T ia*, B. *'w'r'mst* 3 Sg. Pres., *Sogd.* 60, 17, *'w'rms'nt* 3 Pl. Pres., *Padm* 26, 'to become quiet' (\**ōrām-/ōramt-*, cf. *'w(rmtky)* 'quietness' *M* 133, 50); B. *ptr'ms'yt* 3 Sg. Precative, 'to calm down', § 811 (*ptrām-/ptramt-* 'to appease, stop', v. § 581).<sup>1</sup>

825<sup>1</sup> [v. Addenda.]

828<sup>1</sup> Perhaps Man. *nmsy'k*, *BBB* 607, is the abstract of an adjective derived from an Inchoative \**nams-* 'to be despised', *nmsy'k* being the contempt one suffers, *nmy'k* the one which is cast upon others. H. has a different explanation, v. § 550.

829. (5) Past stem in *-nt-*. B. *yr'ns-* 'to be annoyed', Past stem Man. *yr'nd-*, v. *BBB* p. 78 on 664.

830. (iii) The periphrastic Passive (cf. § 823, 4).

(1) Present Indicative. 3 Sg. *δβxštyy βwt* 'is collected' *Sogd.* 16, 5; B. *yrβ'ty βwt* 'is understood' *Intox. Sūtra* 17 (cf. *BBB* p. 97 on b 88); *jyyrtyy βwt* 'is called' *M* 107 i 18. *M* 796 i 17 (*jyyrtyy*); B. *n'štk βwt* 'is destroyed' *Vim* 50; Man. *pcxwstyy βwt* 'is prevented' *BBB* f 49; *pδδ'lyy βwt* 'is pulled out' *M* 343, 3.

831. 3 Pl. *jyyrtyt wβnd* 'are called' *M* 834 i 9.

832. (2) Durative Present. 3 Sg. *xwrtyy βwt skwn* 'is being eaten' *BBB* 760; *nštyy βwt skwn* 'is being lost' *BBB* 674 sq.

833. (3) Future. 3 Sg. Chr. *'šty ny bwttq* 'will not be taken' i 38, 6, cf. § 539 fn. 2.

834. 2 Pl. S. *βstyty βwδ'k'm* 'you will be bound' *JRAS*, 1944, 138, 15.

835. 3 Pl. Chr. *nymtyt bntq* 'they will be retained', see § 539 fn. 4; Chr. *prm'nty qty bntq* 'they will be forgiven' i 78, 11 sq. (Passive of *prm'nty wn-* 'to forgive', ib. 11), cf. § 846 fn. 2.

836. (4) Subjunctive. 3 Sg. *wδrtyy wβ't* 'will (or should) be arranged' *M* 483, 9; *zytyy β't* 'will be deprived' *BBB* f 78 sq.; *pcwβtyh β't* 'will be praised' *M* 172 R passim; *c'nw* . . [*jyy*] *rtty wβ't* 'when . . is called' *BBB* c 15; *c'nw ptymtty wβ't* 'when it is finished' ib. 24.

837. 3 Pl. Man. *sfrytyt wβ'nd* 'will be created' *M* 591, 5; Chr. *pš'ty bnt* 'should be thrown' ii 1, 63, cf. § 846 fn. 2; Chr. *bnt bysty* *šm'x myd'nt* 'let your loins be girded about, and your lights burning' i 38, 1 sq.; Chr. *fnyštyt ny šw'nt* 'should not be deceived' ii 5, 39, cf. § 320 fn.

838. (5) Optative. 2 Sg. *w'nw tyh* . . *wzty nyy wβyy* 'so that you should not be condemned (H.)' *M* 118 ii R 13, cf. § 584.

839. 3 Sg. *βsty wβyy* 'should be refused' *BBB* f 31; *swxwstyy w(βy)* 'should be taken away' *T i a*; B. *βyrt'y βwy* 'may be fulfilled' *VJ* 1232.

839 a. (6) Imperfect. B. *prβ'yrt β'* 'was explained' *P* 6, 154 (ref. by H.). One would have expected \**prβ'yrt'y*.

840. (7) Preterite.

(a) Indicative. 1 Sg. *'naxstyy ktym* 'I have been goaded' *BBB* b 13 sq.; *jβ'ty ktym* 'I have been bitten' ib. 16.

841. 2 Sg. Chr. *byrtý qtyš* 'you have been found' i 47, 7.
842. 3 Sg. Man. *prýtyy 'ktyy* 'has been left out' BBB 700; *prštyy 'ktyy* 'was prepared' M 118 i R 7 sq.; *wmštyy 'ktyy* 'was spoiled' M 356, 9; Chr. *pštyy qty* 'had been removed' ii 5, 42; S. *šyryty L' kty* 'was not created' ST i 86, 6.
843. 3 Pl. Chr. *šmtyt qnt* 'were sent' i 58, 12; S. *šywt'kt 'krt'nt ZY* . . . *βst'kt ZY prkyš'kt* 'were taken, bound, and imprisoned' X 1 ii R 1 sqq.
844. (b) Continuous Preterite (= Participle+continuous Preterite of β-): Chr. *žtyt byq m'tnt* 'were being discussed' i 30, 6 sq.
845. (c) Subjunctive. *prýtyy 'křt* 'should have been missed' BBB 747; *yr'ndyy 'křt* 'should have been irritated' BBB 644 sq.

### The Perfectum Praesens

846. This is a formation expressing the continuance of a state reached through an action. It consists of an *-aka-* Participle,<sup>1 2</sup> followed usually by *\*ah-/wm't-*, less often by *'skw-*, when intransitive or passive,<sup>3</sup> by *š'r-*, when transitive (§ 855). Cf. the Perfectum Praesens in MPers., with *'yst-* and *d'r-*, H., ZII 9, 246 sq.

847. (i) Present Indicative. 1 Sg. B. *tytk 'ym* 'I have entered' Vim 5.

2 Sg. B. *ty'y 'skw'y* 'you have entered' VJ 53<sup>b</sup> sq.

848. 3 Sg. Chr. *'yly sty* 'ἐλήλυθεν' i 75, 17 sq.; Man. *'wjystyy 'styy* 'is settled' BBB 536; Chr. *'wšty sty* 'ἐσθηκεν' i 59, 17; Man. *ptšstyy 'styh* 'is connected' Kaw. K 16; *ptmwystyy 'styy* 'is dressed' BBB 667; *pr . . . 'ndmyt wrysty ptmwystyy 'sty* 'is mixed and dressed in the . . . limbs' BBB 560 sq.; *xrtyy 'styy* 'has passed' M 767 i 1.

849. *'ktyy xcy* 'is made' M 107 i 10; *frm'tyy xcy* 'is ordered' BBB

846<sup>1</sup> With the exception of *tyt* (end of line) *wm't* 'had entered (= was inside)' M 118 i R 6 sq., where a final *y* may have been omitted owing to shortage of space.

846<sup>2</sup> When the subject is feminine or plural, the Participle takes the Feminine or Plural ending. Exceptions noted are, on the one hand, B. *sy''kh prš'yt'kw y'y*, against *sy''kh prš'ytch* 'y, v. § 859, on the other hand, B. *nyzt'k 'ynt*, § 852, Chr. *nysty swqnt*, § 853, and, with the periphrastic Passive, Chr. *pšty bnt*, § 837, *pr'm'nty qty bntq*, § 835.

846<sup>3</sup> In Man. *xrtyh šwt* 'has passed', v. § 1592 (inst. of *xrtyy 'styy*, v. § 848), *xrtyh* is used as an adjective, cf. § 1326 fn. B. *'yt šwt* 'has come' SCE 74, is either a scribal error for *'yt(')k* or *'yt'y šwt*, which is frequent in the SCE, or a contamination between the latter and *'yt* 3 Sg. Pret. (§ 865). As to *'yt(')k šwt* (against Chr. *'yly sty*, v. § 848), it can be explained, acc. to H., by remembering that *'yt-* is also the Past stem of the transitive *'βr-* (§ 603, a. f.), in which capacity it can take the auxiliary *šwt* (cf. § 830).

729; *ywbtyy xcy* 'is praised' M 172 R pass.; *ptywstyy xcy* 'is hidden' M 834 i passim; *ptsyc' xcy* (Fem.) 'is arranged' M 178 i V 7.

850. 1 Pl. S. *ptštyt 'ym* 'we are burned' T ii D ii 169 R 11.

851. 2 Pl. Chr. *ptšty ny 'yšt* 'have you not read?' i 21, 15.

852. 3 Pl. (a) With *\*ah-*: *βstyt xnd* 'are bound' M 178 ii V 26; B. *nyzt'k 'ynt* 'they have come out', v. §§ 779. 846 fn. 2; Man. *pystyt xnd* 'are adorned' M 178 i V 23. 27; *ywxtyt [tyh] šytyt xnd* 'they are trained' Man. Lett. ii 15 sq.

853. (b) With *'skw-*: Chr. *'wštyty swqnt* 'are standing' i 14, 22; Chr. *nysty swqnt* 'are sitting' i 31, 13 sq., cf. § 846 fn. 2; Man. *pr'ytyt 'skwnd* 'they have arrived' M 579, 3.

854. (ii) Durative Present.

(a) With *\*ah-*: Chr. *'šybdy stysq* 'is kept in concealment' ii 1, 80.

855. (b) With *š'r-*: *ptmwystyy š'rmskwn* 'I am wearing', v. BBB p. 53 bottom; *wlyst'w pčxtyy šš'rmskwn* 'we have accepted, are bound by, an oath' M 116 R 7 (v. BBB p. 94 on b 46).

856. (iii) Subjunctive.

(a) With *\*ah-*: *'krtyy [s]tyy x't* 'should have been made', v. § 652; B. *cw . . . šš'r šš'rtty 'st't* 'if the gift has been given' VJ 444 sq.

857. (b) With *'skw-*: *'wβtyy 'skw[t (?)* 'should be asleep' M 655, 24; *wδrtyy 'skw't* 'should be arranged' T i D.

858. (iv) Optative.

(a) With *\*ah-*: B. *ptm'wyt'k y'y* (v. § 771 fn.) 'he would be dressed' VJ 921; cf. also *nyzt'k 'ynt*, § 852.

(b) With *'skw-*: Man. *'qwytyy 'skwytyh* 'is hanging', v. § 1685.

859. (v) Preterite (Indicative only).

(a) With *\*ah-*: B. *'ns'y't'kw y'y* 'was fixed' VJ 343; *sy''kh prš'y't'kw y'y* 'a canopy was spread out, unfolded' VJ 862; *sy''kh prš'ytch* (Fem.) 'y, id., VJ 346; *pts'yty* 'y 'was adorned, inlaid' VJ 344 sq.; *šš'y y'y* 'was built (= stood there)' VJ 14<sup>b</sup> (quoted § 1587).

860. (b) With *wm't-*: *'jytytyt wm't[nd* 'they had been born' Kaw. G 17 sq.; Man. *βjystyy wm't* 'was mounted' M 127 V 11; *prš'tyht wm't* 'had been prepared' Kaw. G 25 sq.; B. *'krty wm't* 'had been done' SCE 475; *'nškr'ty wm't* 'had been collected' VJ 1017; B. *šyrt'y wm't* 'had been received' VJ 440; Chr. *'wšty m't* 'είσῆλκε' i 61, 19; on Man. *tyt wm't* v. § 846 fn. 1.

## The Intransitive (and Passive) Preterite

861. The Intransitive Preterite, which formally coincides with the (non-periphrastic) Passive Preterite, is formed by adding to the Past stem inflectional forms of \*ah- and an- (§ 785) 'to be', except in the 3rd Sg., where no ending is used with heavy stems, while light stems take the ending -y.<sup>1</sup> [v. Addenda.]

862. (i) Indicative. 1 Sg. \*jty 'I was born' BBB b 38; \*jty 'I have come' M 579, 5; \*kty 'I have become'; nstym 'I sat down' BBB 754; Chr. nyžty 'I have come out' i 42, 5. 75, 8; Chr. xrtym 'I went' i 67, 8; S. wyt'rtym 'I went' Anc. Lett. v 11.

863. 2 Sg. \*jtyš 'you have come' M 760, 13; \*jtyš M 370, 5; jtyš 'you have toiled' M 121, 7; z'ryysy'tyš 'tibi miseritum est', § 550 fn. 2; Chr. nyžtyš 'you have come out' i 75, 16; Chr. qtyš 'you have become' i 47, 7. 67, 15; S. 'pz'tyš 'you have originated', § 99.

864. 3 Sg.: (a) Light stems. B. βz'ysty 'decamped', v. § 483; Man. Chr. qty 'became, has become'; nyjty, nyjtyy, 'she went out' Man. Lett. i 26. 27, and passim; Chr. pywšty 'he concealed himself' ii 4, 39; Chr. pryty (prydy) 'food was left' i 34, 5; stty 'he rose' Man. Lett. ii 18, and (in S. script) T M 389 a R 25; tytyy 'it entered' BBB 593.<sup>1</sup> [v. Addenda.]

865. (b) Heavy stems. \*yt 'he came' M 129 R 7; pr'yt 'he reached, came to' M 135 i 59; ptynt 'conclusum est', \*yšt 'inceptit' (both of chapters);<sup>1</sup> z't 'is born, was brought forth' M 915, 10 (from zn-, § 578); Man. Chr. xrt 'went' BBB. ST ii; Chr. 'mpst ST i, B. 'np'st VJ 64<sup>b</sup>. 197, 'to fall'; Chr. 'wšt 'stepped in' i 81, 7; S. \*zyt VJ 411. 8<sup>c</sup>, &c., \*zyt ST i 86, 5, \*zyt ib. 14 (āžit) 'was born'; B. 'skw't 'he stayed' SCE 3; B. δβ'rt 'was given';<sup>2</sup> B. ptβ'rw

861<sup>1</sup> This ending of the 3rd Sg. is the OIr. Nom. Sg. ending of the Past Participle (\*kty from \*ktyah, cf. Khot. yeda), which was lost with heavy stems. It is also preserved, acc. to H., before the initial x- of the copula in B. \*kty y'y, § 876 (not to be confused with the Preterite of the Perfectum Praesens B. δšt'y (from \*dištaka-) y'y, § 859), and in Man. \*kty y't, § 874. It is found exceptionally with heavy stems in B. nšyusty (rty ZKh p'd'yt s't nšyusty 'and your feet have been completely torn' VJ 1104 sq., cf. the parallel passage 779 sq., which has the Pl. nšy'ust'nt), and B. yrt'y 'he went' VJ 785.

864<sup>1</sup> Thus probably also BBB 579: 'it (viz. snow, rain, dew) entered the womb of the earth'.

865<sup>1</sup> With this function also ptynty M 128 R 7, ptynty M 137 R hl., is found, which, as a translation of Parth. hnyft, MPers. hnzft, can be either the -aka-Past Participle, or 3 Sg. Pret. ptyamti, coexisting with the heavy ptyamnt, cf. § 176.

865<sup>2</sup> B. mn' yryšy \*z'wn δβ'r δβ'rt wšyw yzny wšyw, &c., 'by me, during many lives, treasures, &c., were given as gifts' VJ 1479.

T iii S 313, 7, ptβ'rw't ib. 5, 'is remembered' (cf. §§ 604. 537); B. ptšmyrt 'is considered' P 2, 24, cf. § 486 fn. 2.

866. 1 Pl. No examples happen to have been noticed, except S. \*krtymn 'we have become' Anc. Lett. iii 35. [v. Addenda.]

867. 2 Pl.: (a) Chr. qtyšt 'you have become' i 44, 4; Chr. fnyštyšt 'you have been deceived' ii 4, 43 (cf. § 320 fn.); Chr. ptbstyšt ii 1, 30, Syr. 'you have understood', from ptbd- (H.), cf. § 586.<sup>1</sup>

868. (b) S. \*krt'sδ JRAS, 1944, 137, 5, \*krt'sδδ X 1 ii V 3, 'you have become'; S. 'wpt'sδ, v. § 473<sup>a</sup>; B. \*y'p'sδ 'you have come' VJ 151. 958, \*ytsδ ib. 152; cf. § 763. [v. Addenda.]

869. (c) S. \*krt'nsδδh X 1 ii R 15; B. \*krt'nsδ VJ 391; cf. § 785.

870. 3 Pl.: (a) \*y'nd 'they came' Sogd. p. 19 bottom; ty'nd 'they entered' T ii B V 11; \*kt'nd 'they became' BBB p. 82 bottom; \*nwš't'nd 'they assembled' T iii 282, 14, B. \*nwš't'nt SCE 566, Chr. \*wš'tnt ii 1, 20; \*wax'tnd 'they descended' M 110 ii 11; wy'yr'nd 'they woke up' BBB b 21; B. \*zyt'nt 'had been born' SCE 565; B. nšy'wst'nt 'were torn' VJ 780; S. ptškw't'nt 'they were addressed' Anc. Lett. iii 8 (thus to be read acc. to H.); βy' y'nt'nt 'the gods got angry' ib. 23 (cf. BBB p. 78 on 644); pr'y't'nt 'they arrived' Anc. Lett. ii 37 (v. § 765); mrt'nt 'they died' ib. 38 (cf. H., ZDMG 90, 198).

871. (b) With the augment, Chr. zywstnt i 53, 2, hapax legomenon (misreading for \*zwstnt? (H.)), from zwrt- 'to (re)turn', cf. § 585.

872. (c) B. \*krt'ynt (aktind) 'they became' VJ 1264; nšy'wst (1266) 'ynt (nišxustind) 'were torn' VJ; yβ't'ynt (yavdind) 'they toiled' VJ 784. Cf. § 779. [v. Addenda to § 875.]

873. (ii) Subjunctive (cf. BBB p. 78 bottom). 3 Sg. Man. \*kt't, as auxiliary, v. § 845; B. kβ't 'may have split' VJ 1104; B. βyrt 'th 'should have been obtained' P 2, 173 sq.; S. ptxwšt [sic] Anc. Lett. v 30, 'will have been heard'.

874. (iii) Optative. 3 Sg. Man. \*kty y't, § 1687, cf. §§ 768. 861 fn.

875. 3 Pl. (function uncertain). S. \*krt'y'nt, Anc. Lett. ii 10. 34; pr'y't'y'nt 'to arrive' ib. 10. [v. Addenda.]

876. (iv) Pluperfect. 3 Sg. B. \*krt'y'y 'had been made' VJ 1117, v. § 861 fn.; B. \*nškrt y'y 'had been collected' VJ 1019.

867<sup>1</sup> This ending of the 2 Pl. Intrans. Pret. has been extended to the Trans. Pret. in Chr. qθ'ryš't 'you have done' i 26, 2 (but qθ'rt' ib. 4).

## The Transitive Preterite

877. By adding the auxiliary Present stem  $\delta'r$ - (§ 603, b) to the Past stem<sup>1</sup> of transitive verbs,<sup>2</sup> a Preterite is formed in such a way that Past stem+Pres. Ind. of  $\delta'r$  = Indic. of the Perfect.

Past stem+Subj. of  $\delta'r$  = Subj. of the Perfect.

Past stem+Impf. of  $\delta'r$  = Pluperfect.

$\delta'r$ - inflects like an ordinary Present stem, but there is some uncertainty with regard to the 2 Pl., cf. §§ 725. 730. 732. 736. 738. 750. 867 fn.

The Past stem, if light, has the ending *-w*, which was sometimes syncopated (v. § 167). On the assimilation of the final *-t* of the Past stem to the  $\delta$ - of  $\delta'r$ -, v. § 457. On *kθār*- from *akt(u)ār*-, v. § 279.

878. Examples (cf. BBB s.v.  $\delta'r$ -):

(i) Light stems. *'k(r)twδ'r*- 'to make'; *βwytwδ'r*- 'to deliver', § 509; *βystw δ'r*- 'to bind', § 516; *fštw δ'r*- 'to ask'; *zrytwδ'r*- 'to deliver' § 542, c; &c.

879. (ii) Heavy stems. *'škrtd'r*- 'to lead' M 363, 4. Kaw. G 23; *'wjyyst δ'r*- 'to allow to settle'; *βrtδ'r*- 'to offer, bring' M 144 R 2. M 370, 7. M 617 ii 6; *δβrtδ'r*- 'to give' M 247, 7. 9. M 659, 9;<sup>1</sup> *nytd'r*- 'to take' M 127 R 13. 14; *wytd'r*- 'to see' M 617 i 2;<sup>2</sup> *xwrtδ'r*- 'to eat'; &c.

880. (iii) Pluperfect. *'ytd'rw* 1 Sg., 'to receive', v. BBB p. 95 top; *qδ'r* 3 Sg., 'to make', M 118 i R 13, where, however, the parallel passage V 7 has *kδ'rtt*.

## The Potentialis

881. Cf. Salemann, *Izv.*, 1913, 1140, fn. 17; Reichelt, *Festschrift Geiger*, 257, and *ZII* vii 147 sq.; H., BBB p. 86 on 727.

This construction consists of the Past stem followed by *kwn*-, if

877<sup>1</sup> In late texts,  $\delta'r$ - is sometimes used with the Pres. stem, cf. Man. *βr'jδ'r*- *Sogd.* 31, 13, Chr. *pyzd'r*- 'to beat' ii 6, 41 (cf. § 594) and *'walyd'r*- 'to put' ST i (cf. §§ 554 sqq.).

877<sup>2</sup>  $\delta'r$ - is occasionally used with intransitive verbs for a kind of Middle Preterite [v. Addenda]:

(a) Chr. *b'wd'rtnt qv dyz'w s'* 'they approached the village' i 52, 3 (cf. § 573); Chr. *wy'wd'rt* 'pernoctavit' i 33, 10, *wywsd'rt* 'it dawned' i 33, 11.

(b) Chr. *prydr* 'he sat down' i 52, 10, belongs, acc. to H., to Man. *pryδt* T i D 51, B. *prδyδt* P 2, 3, 3 Sg. Pres., Man. *pryδδ*, 'sitting' M 358, 2, cf. also § 409 fn.

(c) S. *yrβ ky cnn* 'y'mpnyh 'stwt δ'r'nt 'many who had been converted from heresy' T M 389 a V 30 sq.

879<sup>1</sup> Hence BBB 503 to be restored *δβrt[t]*.

879<sup>2</sup> But B. *wytw δ'r*- VJ 3, with historical spelling.

active, by *βw*-, if passive or intransitive. The Past stem, when light, has the ending *-'* (on *-w* v. § 888).

The Potentialis is used to express a possibility, but sometimes, especially in negative sentences, it conveys the consummation of an action.

The Potentialis also occurs in other Iranian languages.<sup>1</sup> For Khotanese cf. Leumann, *E* pp. 487<sup>b</sup>-488<sup>a</sup>,<sup>2</sup> for Yaghnobi v. Salemann, loc. cit., and Klimchitsky, *Zap.*, 1937, 15, for Baluči (reference by H.) v. E. Mockler, *A Grammar of the Baloochee Language*, 61. 71. It also exists, acc. to H., in Khwārezmian.

882. (i) With *kwn*- (Active).

(1) Light stems. *twyt' kwny* 3 Sg. Opt. 'might be able to pay' BBB p. 86 fn. 1; *nyy jy't'h kwn'm* 1 Sg. Pres. 'I do not (always or completely) observe' BBB 727 sq.; *qt' kwn[ym](k)[r]m* 1 Pl. Fut. 'we shall be able to do' M 635 i 5.

883. (2) Heavy stems. *nyy . . . pifr'wt' kwn'm* 1 Sg. Pres. 'I do not (always or completely) keep in mind' BBB 756; *nyy 'nyt' qundyh* 3 Sg. Pres. 'he cannot bring' M 765 k 6; B. *c'n'w yurt 'spk yurt wn'nt* 3 Pl. Impf. 'when they had completely finished eating the food' VJ 62 sq.; *ZKw δβ'r δβ'rt kwn* 3 Sg. Impf. 'he had finished giving away his presents' VJ 53<sup>c</sup> sq.

884. (ii) With *βw*- (Passive and Intransitive).

(1) Light stems. *wyt' wβ't* 3 Sg. Subj. 'could be said' BBB d 2; *(n)yjt'h wβ't* 3 Sg. Subj. 'could come out' T ii D 163 a 3; *ny fršt'h* *βwt* 3 Sg. Pres. 'cannot be \*settled' M 135 i 2 sq.; *w'nw 'ty x'n* *jyt' wβyy . . . 'ty ms . . . šyrtwzyy 'dyh 'spxšt' wβyy* 3 Sg. Opt. 'so

881<sup>1</sup> For OPers. Reichelt, *Geiger Festschr.* 257, has quoted *axab'am dūam šazryyāb* 'could take away the ruling power'. For the consummation of an action, expressed by this construction, H. compares Xerz. *Van, dipim nāy nipištām akunauš* 'he had not inscribed an inscription', and Pahl. *kird nibišt Kn.* i 42 'wrote'. To judge by these forms, the Participle should by rights have the Accusative ending, as is the case in Sogdian with the examples in § 888. The usual Sogdian ending *-'* may represent the Predicative Instrumental (§ 1182). Av. *pairi.tačahi bavqn* 'they can run about', quoted by Reichelt, *ZII* vii 147, is rather different from the Potentialis here treated, whose characteristic is the use of the Past stem.

881<sup>2</sup> There the Participle usually takes the Accusative ending *-u*. Here are some examples from *E*: Active: *ni jatu yidāndi* 'they could not cancel' 2, 25; *kō . . . jēidu yanāma* 'if we could deceive' 2, 106. Intransitive: *ne . . . māndu yanāma* 'I cannot stay' 6, 94. Passive: *na hvatā hamāre*, 3 Pl., 'cannot be told' 4, 149. With *yūdu yan*- and another Past Participle in apposition: *ne yūdu yīndi hamastu* 'he cannot transform' 2, 97; *škōndu yūdu yīndu* 2, 114, *yūdu tīndi padāndu* 24, 40, 'can build'; &c. For later texts, cf. *yūdi yamde* 'he can do' Bailey, *BSOS* viii 925, 22; *karā na byāštā yūde* 'he could not cross the magic circle' Bailey, *BSOS* x 369, 15; for the Passive with *hami*- v. Bailey, *BSOS* x 586 on 73.

Bal. *šict* *šactūn*  
ark. nyp. *šadrū* *šardē* *šonad*.

that it should be possible to maintain the house and look after one's friends' *M* 135 ii 58 sqq.; B. *L' ptr'mt' (ptramta) βwt* 3 Sg. Pres. 'cannot stop, cease' *P* 2, 234.

885. (2) Heavy stems. *w'nw . . . 'ty . . . 'skw't wβnd* 3 Pl. Subj. 'so that they may stay' *M* 110 ii V 7; *nyy 'p't βwt* 3 Sg. Pres. 'cannot be grasped, observed' *M* 178 i R 22. [v. Add. to § 825.]

886. (iii) As in the periphrastic Passive (§§ 840 sqq.), it is possible that the Preterite of the Intrans.-Pass. Potentialis was made up with 'kt- 'to become'. Unfortunately there is no other evidence for it but Man. *tyt' 'kr't* [*M* 110 ii R 5 (preceding line missing), from *tys-/tyt-* 'to enter'.

887. (iv) In the sentence *štyk cxs'pt . . . nyy jy't' wβ'mskwn* 'I am unable (always or completely) to observe the third commandment' *BBB* a 4-6, *wβ'mskwn* must be a lapse on the side of the writer who had to choose between saying either *βwt'skwn* (with *cxs'pt* as the subject) or *kwn'mskwn* (with *cxs'pt* as the object).

888. (v) In S. it sometimes happens that -w is added to the Past stem instead of -. B. *L' wytw L' prβ'yr't β'y* 3 Sg. Opt. 'cannot be told or explained' *VJ* 858 sq.; *'rty my ZKw prm'nh L' ptywštw wn't* 3 Pl. Impf. 'they did not obey me (in every point)' *VJ* 1272 sq., cf. also *VJ* 1246 sq.; *šrytw wnty* 3 Sg. Pres. 'can keep (completely)' *Vim* 2; S. *py'mtw kwn'n* 1 Sg. Subj. '(if) . . . I am able to heal' *T* *M* 389 a R 2.

#### Present Participles

889. (i) -anaka-. The OIr. Middle athematic Participle-ending -āna- (cf. Bartholomae, *Gdr. Ir. Phil.* i 109, § 209, 3), enlarged by the suffix -ka-, is in Sogdian the ordinary means of forming a Participle from a Present stem. It is spelled in Man. and Chr. -ny or -yny, in S. -n'k or -yn'k. Both may stand for -ane, but it is possible that the spelling without y before n indicates the loss of this short vowel.<sup>1</sup>

890. (1) -yny.

(a) In Manichean: *'j'nynt* Pl. ' ? ' *M* 134 i R 3; *βrynt* Pl. 'to bring' *M* 134 i R 6 and passim; *γrβyynynt* Pl. 'to know' *T* ii D 62, 23; (*p'rynyy* 'to fill, nourish' *M* 617 i 24 (quoted § 1241), cf. B. *p'r-* *SCE* 106. *Dhu* 266. *VJ* 1109, v. H., *BSOS* viii 585 fn. 2; *pδwfsyyny* 'to stick' *T* ii D 62, 16, cf. § 896; *pt[γ]rβynynt* Pl. 'to grasp' *Sogd.* 25, 29; *šgrynynt* Pl. 'to lead' *M* 134 i R 6; *wβynynt* Pl. 'to be' *M* 617 ii 28; *wyšynynt* Pl. 'to rejoice' ib.; *xwryyny* 'to eat' *BBB* f 77; *yβryny* \*'to look after', quoted § 1241.

889<sup>1</sup> It is scarcely an accident that the spelling -ny is found almost exclusively with heavy stems. [Cf. Addenda to § 897.]

891. (b) Outside Manichean: Chr. *brync* Fem. (§ 1273) 'to have' i 37, 3; *qwnyny* 'to make' ii 3, 14; *sqwyny* 'to last' ii 5, 23. For B. v. § 894.

892. (2) -ny.

(a) In Manichean: *'ngr'myny* 'to slander' *Sogd.* 52 Frg. t, 2; *'[p]š'mnynt* Pl., *Sogd.* 21, 20; *'wstyny* 'to establish' *Man. Lett.* i 11; *šβjnyh* \*'to gain' *Sogd.* 31, 4; *šβyšyny* 'to vex' *BBB* 488; *frkyrny* 'to neglect' *BBB* 690; *γwβnynt* Pl. 'to praise' *M* 264 A 22; *nywšyny* 'to listen' *M* 591, 17; *pδš'rynt* Pl. \*'to keep' *M* 134 i R 1; *prwyr-tnyh* 'to transfer, to ferry' *M* 137 R 5; *ptywšnynt* Pl. 'to listen' *M* 172 V 7; *ptmynynynt* Pl. 'to dress' *M* 134 i R 2; *pt[s](y)ndnynt* Pl. 'to be pleased, agree' *M* 617 ii 30; *py'myny* 'to heal' *M* 137 R 2; *šwmyny* 'tailor', from *šwm-* 'to sew', v. *Sogd.* p. 17 on 7 a; *tqwšnynt* Pl. 'to look' *M* 134 i R 5; *wβnynt* Pl. 'to tell' *M* 172 V 7; *xwryynynt* Pl. 'to feed' *M* 134 i R 1.

893. (b) Outside Manichean: Chr. *'ympnynt* Pl. 'to pervert' ii 6, 22; *dysnynt* Pl. 'to build' i 21, 16; *prbxšny* 'to betray' i 33, 19; *pšyncn* Voc. 'to spill' ii 6, 10; *šfrynny* 'creator', v. § 475, 2; *wyθrbnync* 'to be agitated', v. § 1279; B. *γr'nsny* 'to be annoyed, peevish' *SCE* 407; *pt'wn'k* 'to endure' *SCE* 68; *ywcn'k* 'to teach' *Vim* 67; an old Participle is also B. *wyrmny* 'quiet' *Vim* 71, cf. § 213 fn. 2.

894. (3) With some Participles both spellings occur: *prwyjyny* 'to feed' Intrans., *BBB* b 88: *prwyjyny* Trans. *BBB* 628. *M* 110 i V 6; Chr. *θbryny* i 19, 11, B. *šβr'yn'k* *VJ* 413. 49<sup>a</sup>, *šβr'yn'y* *SCE* 496: Man. *š(β)r(ny)nt* Pl. *M* 134 i R 3, B. *šβrn'k* *SCE* 46, 'to give'; Man. *šm'ryyny*, *šm'rynynt* Pl., *M* 127 R 11. 13: *šm'rynt* Pl. *M* 617 ii 31, 'to think'; *'n(γ)zy(n)yy* *M* 834 ii 14: *'(n)z(ny)h* ib. 5 (H.'s readings) 'to rise'; B. *šw'yn'k* 'to walk' *T* iii 14: Man. *šwnyy* *T* ii D 117, 27 (meaning quite uncertain). Cf. also the substantivized Participle (v. Lentz, *ST* ii 578<sup>a</sup>) Man. *'nj'wynyy* *M* 137 R 8, S. *'nz'wyny* *Stellung Jesu*, plate iii, *T* ii D ii 169 V 12: Man. *'nj'wny* *T* ii D 66, 2, 9, Chr. *'z'wny*, S. *'z'wny* *ST* i 87, 23, *'nz'wn'k* *T* *M* 389 a R 28, *'nz'wny* *T* ii D ii 169 (*Stellung Jesu*, 94) R 19, 'σωτήρ'.

895. (4) The vowel is not normally expressed in writing if the Pres. stem ends in -āy-: *'nyyny* 'to bring' *M* 118 ii R 4. 6, from *ānay-*, S. *pr'nyny* *Stellung Jesu*, 95, 10 (thus to be read acc. to H.) 'to lead', from *parānay-*, v. § 569; *pršt'yny* 'to prepare' (*parštāy-*)

892<sup>1</sup> MPers. *'sm-* renders Av. *hiθa-*, *hiθu-*, *haēθahya-*; the meaning of *'pšm-*, which may be connected with *fšm-*, was therefore close to that of those Avestan words (H.).

*Sogd.* 52 Frg. s, 3; *nyjyny* Pl. 'to emanate, come out' (*nižay-*) *M* 118 i V 9.

(5) Haplogy of *-nə-* took place in Man. *ʔfryny*, B. *γrynʔk*, and Chr. *wyny*, v. § 475, 2.

896. (6) This Present Participle is contracted with a following form of *\*ah-* 'to be', in B. *pδwβsynʔnt* (= *\*pδwβsyny ʔnt*) 'they are sticking' *T* ii *D* 413, 9 (only example).

897. (ii) The suffix *-yq* (*-ēk*<sup>1</sup> from *-(a)ya-ka-*) is the most common Present Participle formative in Chr. It does not take the Plural ending, and is in *ST* ii written in one with a following *wmʔt-*. It does not seem to occur in Man. or B.<sup>2</sup> *ʔndyšyq* 'to appear' i 52, 4 (cf. *BBB* p. 87 on 753); *byq* 'to be' i 30, 6, cf. § 844; *dʔryq* 'to hold' i 45, 12;<sup>1</sup> *θbryq* 'to give' i 60, 2. ii 3, 39 (*θbryqwmʔt*); *γrbryq* 'to know' i 48, 19; *mymyqwmʔnt* 'they were staying' ii 1, 88; *ptywšyq* 'to listen' i 37, 18;<sup>1</sup> *spšyqwmʔnt* 'they were officiating' ii 3, 59; *swyq* 'to stay' i 32, 16; *šmʔryq* 'to think' i 30, 8; *šwyq* 'to go' i 52, 4. 6; *wʔbyq* 'to say, speak' i 52, 14. 68, 18; *wnyq* 'to do' i 45, 12. 70, 9; *wrnyq* 'to believe' i 56, 3; *žyq* 'to talk' i 52, 16. ii 1, 56 (*žyqwmʔnt*). [v. Addenda.]

898. (iii) *-y*. Not attested in Chr. Since the stems concerned are nearly all heavy, this formative is likely to go back to *-aka-*. In some of the examples a special continuous or iterative meaning can be discerned, others are used more like adjectives or nouns of the agent, some are possibly Infinitives.

#### 899. (i) Heavy stems.

(a) Continuous Past. *ptywšywmʔtym* 'I was concealing' *BBB* 616, Pl. *ptywšy m[y](nδδ)skwn* 'you keep (lit. remain) concealing' *M* 134 i R 9; *ʔndwšxy nyywmʔtym* *BBB* 710 sq., *ʔndwšxyh [nyy]wmʔtym* *M* 684, 13, 'I was not striving'; *prycywmʔt* 'was leaving' *M* 504, 6.

900. (b) Iterative. *ʔwryzyh* 'dropping' *Sogd.* 31, 24; *pšmyh* '?' *Sogd.* 21, 23 (cf. § 892 fn.); *yʔbyy* . . . *šwʔzskwn* 'he used to go roving' *T* ii *D* 117, 19 sq., B. *yʔʔk* . . . *šwt* *SCE* 28. [v. Add. p. 308.]

901. (c) Depending on *kʔm-* and *sʔc-*, hence possibly Infinitives. B. *kʔmt yʔʔy* 'he likes to rove' *SCE* 300; *kʔmt nγwšy* *SCE* 56 sq., *kʔmt nγwšʔk* ib. 82, 'he wants to hear'; B. *sʔc ʔntwysʔk* 'oportet niti' *Dhy* 128.

902. (d) Used as adjective. *zwʔt prwʔtyy*, *ʔwʔt nwrtyy*, 'turning

<sup>897</sup> Vocalized as *-ik* only in *ptywšyq* i 37, 18, and *dʔryq* ib. 19.

<sup>897</sup> Different is Man. *wnyq kwn-* 'to overcome' (H.) *M* 133, 11, since the base *wan-* is not used as a Present stem in Sogdian, cf. § 994.

to and fro', v. § 1638; *βryh* 'riding, on horse-back' *BBB* 489, B. *βʔw šw-* 'to ride' *VJ* 133 (the Present stem *\*βʔr-* is not used<sup>1</sup>).

#### 903. (2) Light stems.

(a) Iterative. Man. *ftryh* 'on foot, walking, runner' *Sogd.* 25, 22.

904. (b) Agent. S. *wʔnkw ZY βʔt ptcyšy ZKn šyrʔkrtʔy* 'so that she should receive (lit. be the receiver of) this benefaction' *T M* 389 a V 12.

(iv) Other Participle suffixes added to the Present stem are: *-ʔn*, § 1033 (note the intensive B. *ʔyrʔyʔn*); B. *-ʔnʔk*, § 1039; *-(ʔ)nd*, § 1066; *-(ʔ)ndy*, § 1068; *-cyk*, § 1018.

#### The Present Infinitive

905. In Man., the Present Infinitive of heavy stems merely consists of the Present stem, which takes the ending *-y* in the Oblique, while light stems always have *-y* (v. *BBB* p. 55). Outside Man., light stems are also found with the endings *-ʔ* for the Ablative, *-w* for the Accusative.<sup>1</sup>

On *-mndy* used for the Present Infinitive v. § 1100.

#### 906. (i) Light stems.

(1) *-y*.

(a) Not depending on a verb or preposition: *βxšy* 'to divide' *M* 135 ii 40; *šβryy* 'to give' *BBB* 738; *qnyy yknyy* (cf. § 220) 'to dig' ib. 494; *kwnyy* 'to make' *M* 117, 12; *snyy* 'to rise' *BBB* 490; *xwryy* 'to eat', § 1308.

907. (b) Depending on *frmʔy-* 'to order': *jnyy* 'to strike' *M* 135 i 41.

908. (c) Depending on *kʔm-* 'to wish': B. *ʔskwy* 'to be' *SCE* 329.

909. (d) Dep. on *γwt* 'oportet': *βxšy* 'to divide' *M* 135 ii 46.

910. (e) Dep. on *pr*: *snyy* 'to rise' *BBB* p. 54 on 490; *pcxšyy* 'to receive' *BBB* 751; *xwry* 'to eat' *M* 130 i R 2; *xwšyy* 'to increase' *M* 765 d 8; Chr. *bry* 'to offer' i 33, 10; Chr. *spxšy* 'to serve' i 45, 8. 10, cf. § 599.

911. (f) Oblique: *kuw xšʔm xwryy jmnw prm* 'until the time for eating supper' *M* 399, 4.

912. (2) *-w*. Depending on *pr*: Chr. *spxšw* 'to serve' i 37, 1, cf. § 599; B. *γʔʔw* 'to know' *VJ* 381. 391.

<sup>902</sup> The only other forms are Man. *βʔrycyk* 'mount', v. § 1017, and B. *Lʔ βʔr* (*nāvār*) 'not riding', perhaps coined as a rhyme word for *nāxār*: *pδʔy nʔʔr Lʔ βʔr* 'on foot, without food (cf. § 63) or mount' *VJ* 317.

<sup>905</sup> A peculiar ending is seen in B. *cnn* . . . *cβʔy* 'from stealing' *DN* 26. Oblique of an *-aka-* Infinitive? Cf. §§ 921. 1254.

913. (3) -. Depending on *cnn*: B. *γrβ* *Dhu* 77. P 2, 95, *γrβ* *P* 2, 83 (but *γrβ* *VJ* 393) 'to know'.

914. (ii) Heavy stems.

(1) No ending.

(a) Not depending on a verb or preposition: *wxznz* 'to descend' *BBB* 490; *δys prδys* 'to build' *ib.* 494; *xwj* 'to ask' *BBB* 737; &c.

915. (b) Depending on *pc'y*- 'to be convenient': *frm'y* 'to order' *BBB* d 3.

916. (c) Dep. on *γwt* 'oportet': *'s* 'to take' *M* 142 R 5; *δ'r* 'to hold' *M* 670, 5.

917. (d) Dep. on *pyštyy* 'styy' or *βwt* 'is ready' (H.): *ptxw'y* 'to kill' *M* 760, 19; *pš'y* 'to throw' *T ii D* 62, 9.

918. (e) Dep. on *pr*: *wxz* 'to descend' *BBB* p. 54 on 490; *tkwš* 'to look' *T ii B V* 4; Chr. *ptywš* 'to hear' *i* 11, 2; Chr. *ptxw'y* 'to kill' *ii* 6, 16; S. *nm'y* 'to judge', *'ys* 'to come', *ST* *i* 87, 20; S. *ptywš* 'to hear', *βry'z* 'to touch', *Sogd.* 64, 10 sq.

919. (f) Dep. on *cnn* (B. only): *wyn* 'to see', *pty'wš* 'to hear', *βry'z* 'to touch', *'βr* 'to bring, fetch', *'γ'yr* 'to walk', *VJ* 78 sqq. (cf. *BBB* p. 79 on 656-677).

920. (2) Ending -y.

(a) Depending on *cn*: Man. *wyny* 'to see', *ptywšy* 'to hear', *pcβwšyy* 'to smell', *pcmrwšyy* 'to touch', v. *BBB* loc. cit.; *βyryy* 'to obtain' *BBB* f 5; B. *wy'rš'y* 'to deliver' *ST ii* 9, 6.

921. (b) In B., after *pr*: *pr δβ'r γwyz'y* 'to ask for gifts' *VJ* 120 (cf. Chr. *pr θβ'r γwz i* 42, 4); *pr . . . 'nškr'y* 'in the act of collecting' *VJ* 1016.

It is possible that these forms, and the ones mentioned in § 901, are -aka- Infinitives.

### The Past Infinitive

922. (i) Light stems (ending -y).

(a) Depending on *fr'γ'z*- 'to begin': Man. *ptsyty* 'to make, arrange' *M* 178 *ii* R 8; B. *βsty* 'to attach' *VJ* 1239.

923. (b) Dep. on *'γ'z*- 'to begin': *wytyy* 'to say' (or possibly 'let') *M* 133, 41; S. *ywyty* 'to teach' *Kaw.* H 8 (the following *'βs'γt*, instead of *\*βs'γty*, is curious).

924. (c) Dep. on *γwt* 'oportet': *'ktyy* 'to make' *BBB* d 4. 7.

925. (d) Dep. on *frm'y*- 'to order': *jtyy* 'to strike' *M* 135 *i* 30;

*swšty* 'to bore, pierce' *ib.* 40; B. *βyty* 'to give' *VJ* 36; B. *δryty* 'to hold' *VJ* 35. 303.

926. (e) Dep. on *pr*: (')*kštyy* 'to sow' *BBB* p. 71.

927. (ii) Heavy stems.

(1) No ending.

(a) Depending on *frm'y*- 'to order': *δδβrt* 'to give' *T ii D* 62, 20; *xwrt* 'to eat' *M* 617 *i* 27; Chr. *ptxwst* 'to kill' *ii* 4, 30; B. *sn't* 'to wash' *VJ* 1292.

928. (b) Dep. on *s'st* 'oportet': *ptšmrt* 'to think' *M* 655, 8. 15 (H.'s reading); B. *knt* 'to gouge' *VJ* 239.

929. (c) Dep. on *kwn*-. *'ywšt ptywšt* *'kt'ndt* *Kaw.* K 5 sq. 11 sq. 'they became excited', Passive of *\*'ywšt ptywšt kwn*- 'to excite'.<sup>1</sup>

930. (2) Ending -y.

(a) In B. the light-stem ending was sometimes extended to heavy stems: *'wst'ty* 'to place' *VJ* 44 (*'wst't* *ib.* 250. 348); *pršpty* 'to prepare' *ib.* 56; *rys'ty* 'to lick', v. § 537; *ptwy'ty* 'to wriggle' *VJ* 114; *zy'yr'ty* 'to call' *VJ* 60. 1314 (*zy'yr't*, v. § 537).

931. (b) In Man. the following examples occur: *pr βyrt'yh* 'to obtain' *M* 891, 9 (no context); *prw* *'kštyy* (cf. § 926) *pr'qndyy* 'in ploughing and sowing' *BBB* p. 71; *δβrtyy γwt'k'm* 'will have to be given' *M* 135 *i* 44 (a copy of the same text in Sogdian writing has *δβrt'k T M* 418 V 2); *'[y]* *'γwst'yh nγwst'yh wyδwc* *'ync M* 133, 63 sqq. (preceding lines missing) 'clothing and dressing a widow' (H.).

It is not clear whether -y is here the Oblique-Accusative ending, or represents -aka- as an Infinitive suffix (cf. the possible Present Infinitives in -aka-, § 921).

932. (iii) In B. the ending -' is used with light stems, when the Infinitive, usually preceded by *cnn*, is followed by *k'ry*. Heavy stems, for which there is also one Man. example, have no ending. The meaning of *cnn . . . k'ry*, correctly rendered by Reichelt as 'after', has been confirmed by Weller, *Monumenta Serica*, ii 377. -' is presumably the ending of the Ablative.

933. (1) Light stems. *cnn* *'γδ'y* *'γwšt* *k'ry* 'after having wished his wish' *Dhy* 84; *cnn prwyr'ty šw'mntk* *'krt'k'ry* 'after having completed the *pariṇāmana*' *ib.* 83 (cf. *ZKw prwyr'ty šw'mntk wn*-, prec. line); *nβ'nt wγš'y* *'krt' k'ry* *ib.* 82 (haplography for *n. w. 'krt'yh* *'krt' k'ry*, cf. *n. w. 'krt'yh wn*-, prec. line) 'after having completed the *anumodana*'; *cnn pwy'k'ry* 'after cooking (it)' *Frg iii* 74.

<sup>1</sup>929<sup>1</sup> [Acc. to H. *'ywšt* and *ptywšt* are old Participles.]



934. (2) Heavy stems. Man. *cn xwrt k'ryy* 'after eating' *M* 144 R 1; B. *cnn pwtly ryth šm'r't k'ry* 'after having thought of the face of the Buddha' *Dhy* 56; *cnn 'krt'nyh wydy't k'ry* 'after the disappearance of the sins' *Dhy* 189; *mn' cnn nyrβ'n wyt'rt k'ry* 'after I shall have passed into the *nirvāṇa*' *Dhu* 81 (Reichelt's translation is unsatisfactory).

## NOMINAL STEMS

## NOUN FORMATION

## Primary stems

935. Most OIr. nominal stems are treated in the same way as the *-ā-* stems, viz. they inflect, acc. to their rhythmic value in Sogdian, either as light stems or as heavy stems (cf. Tedesco, *ZII* iv 132 sq.). In a number of words, however, formatives other than *-ā-* have been preserved or have left traces.

936. (1) OIr. root stems.

(a) *šβr-* (light) 'door', from *dwar-*; *m'x* 'moon', from *māh-*; *'p* water', from *āp-*; &c.

937. (b) An OIr. ablaut is preserved in the doublet Man. *'stryt* Pl., *M* 810, 7: *st'ryyt*, *st'rytyy*, S. *'st'r'kt* 'stars', cf. § 157, from *star-/stār-+aka-*.

938. (2) *-ah-* stems.

(a) *-ah-* is lost. *sr-* (light) 'head', from *sarah-*; *tm-* (light) 'hell', from Av. *tamah-*; *rw-* 'river', from OPers. *rautah-*; *frn* 'luck', from Av. *x'arənah-*, v. § 224; *qmbyy* 'less, short of', from *\*kambyah-*, v. § 493 fn.

939. (b) *-ah-* is preserved as *-(a)χ-* when followed by the suffix *-want-* (§391). *frnxwund-* 'lucky' from *x'arənahvant-*, *wrcxwund-* 'miraculous' from *varəčahvant-*, cf. H., BSOS viii 586, against *frn* 'luck', and *\*wrc* 'miracle' in Chr. *wrc wny*, Man. *wrcwnkrc* (§ 1088), B. *trw'rc*, v. § 1144, from Av. *varəčah-*. [Cf. also B. *'zyw(h)*, *'rsy*, § 403 fn.]

(c) On *mzyx* from *mazyah-* (?) v. § 403.

(d) On *xwmn'* from *\*manah-* v. § 404.

(3) On the OIr. *-āh-* stem *mazdāh-* v. § 395 fn.

940. (4) *-an-* and *-ar-* stems.

(i) *n*, *r*, are lost.

(a) *βr't* 'brother' from *brātar-*, cf. § 944; B. *crmyh* OIr. *crm*, hide' P 2, 211, from Av. *čaraman-*; *cšm-* (light) 'eye' from *čašman-*; *š'm* 'world' from *dāman-*; *šwyt'* 'daughter' from Av. *duydar-*, cf.

§ 944; S. *šym* 'eye-ball' *Sogd.* 5, 2, 'sight' *T M* 389 a V 9, from Av. *daēman-*; *-kyšp-* (light) from Av. *karšvan/r-*, v. § 147; *m't* 'mother' from *mātar-*; *n'm* 'name' from *nāman-*; B. *sn'uty* Obl. Pl. 'sinews' P 2, 371, from *snāwar/n-* (H.); Man. *zrw* 'old age' *T ii D* 167 ii 8. *M* 821 i 13, B. *zrwš Vim* 113, *cnn zrwylh* P 2, 324, from Av. *zaurvah-*; (?) *zrw* N. of a god, v. *ST ii* 602<sup>b</sup>, from Av. *zrvan-* (cf. §§ 945. 958). [v. Addenda.]

941. (b) Before suffix. S. *\*z'mt'k* 'son-in-law', Pl. *z'mt'yty T ii D* 7, from Av. *zāmātar-+aka-*. Cf. *sprymy* § 1097, *'ndmyy* § 283.

942. (ii) *n*, *r*, preserved.

(a) From the strongest stem. *rw'n* 'soul' from *(u)rwān-*; *sm'n* 'sky' from *asmān-*; *\*martān* 'brave', attested through the abstract Man. *mr't'ny* *T i a* (Par. 19), cf. *ST ii* s.v. *m'rđny*, *BBB* s.v. *m'rđnyy*, from Av. *maratan-*, v. Morgenstierne, *EVP* 47.

943. (b) From the strong or weak stem.

(a) Man. *npyyšn* 'grandson', Pl. S. *np'yšnt*, from OIr. *našθr-*, cf. § 299, with analogical *p* and a mysterious *-n*; *wrkr* 'leaf' from *\*warkar/n-*, v. *Sogd.* 4; *'ptr-* 'father' from *p(i)tar-*; *'tr* 'fire' from *ātar-*.

944. (β) Man. *βr'trt-*, S. *šwyttrt-*, v. § 1231, Pl. of *βr't* and *šwyt'*, v. § 940.

945. (γ) Before suffix. *xšpncyk* 'nocturnal' from Av. *xšapan-*. [*zwrnyy* 'period' from Av. *zrvan-+aka-* (H.).]

946. (δ) B. *nns* 'nose' can perhaps be taken as an *-an-* stem with transposed *n* and reduced root vowel, from OIr. *\*nāsn-*, cf. Av. *nāshan-*<sup>1</sup> (on Man. *ns* v. § 338).

947. (5) OIr. *-i-* stems.

(i) *i* is lost with masculine light stems, and with heavy stems. *yr-* (light) 'mountain' from *gari-*; *xwrt* 'food' *M* 178 i V 20, from Av. *x'arəti-* (unless it belongs to Av. *x'āša-*); B. *šwn* 'hips' from *sraoni-*, v. § 371.

948. (ii) *i* is preserved.

(a) With feminine light stems, which have the feminine formative *-ā* added to the stem: *'kty* 'action, deed' from *krti-+ā*; *γwβty* 'praise' from *\*gufti-+ā*; *tr'ty* 'grief' from *\*tr'nxti-* (cf. § 152<sup>b</sup>) *+ā*; Chr. *\*sty* 'being', v. § 783, from Av. *sti-+ā*; B. (?) *cštyh* 'terror', v. § 277, from *\*tšti-+ā*. Similarly is treated OIr. *uši-*, believed to be a Dual, which appears in Sogdian as *wšy*, *'šy*, *šy*, v. § 102.

946<sup>1</sup> For the preservation of *s* before *n* cf. Av. *hazasnqm* (v. Bailey, BSOS ix 72) and Av. *šānā-*.

949. (b) In compounds and before suffix. S. *rtjxw βntk*, N. pr., v. § 237; B. *βyšykyn* 'therapeutic' *Padm* 21,<sup>1</sup> from Av. *biši* 'physician'.

950. (6) OIr. -i- stems.

(i) *i* is lost, cf. Tedesco, *ZII* iv 141. B. *βwmh* 'world, earth' from *būmī*; S. *\*rtwγ*, Man. *\*pwx*, from *\*wahwī*, v. § 237.

(ii) Lost after causing umlaut, in B. *γwt'ynh* 'queen', v. § 133.

951. (iii) Preserved. Possibly in the Nominative Chr. *ywxny*, and the Accusative Man. *ywxny*, *xwnny*, 'blood', v. § 1168 fn.; before suffix in *stryc* 'female' from *\*stri-kā*.

952. (7) OIr. -u- stems.

(i) Light.

(a) *u* is preserved.

(α) As the ending of uninflected stems, v. § 1190.

(β) In *'ztyw* 'in exile', adj. or adv., from *uzdahyu*, v. §§ 97. 398.

(γ) With metathesis in S. *mwδ* 'wine', v. § 408, Chr. *žwmn* 'period', v. § 512 fn.; followed by the suffix *-aka-* in Man. *škwyy* 'dry', § 412; followed by the suffix *-ka-* in *ytkw* 'bridge', § 518, and B. *cškw* 'tear', v. § 371; on *jwxšk* v. § 958.

953. (b) *u* is lost. *ps* 'sheep' (Man. *psy*, *psyy*, B. *'ps* SCE 364, *psw* (Acc.) VJ 87) from *pasu* (but cf. Chr. *xwšp'ny*, § 314); B. (?) *ks* 'thin', cf. §§ 1201. 1204, from *kasu*, v. Lentz, *ST ii* 587<sup>a</sup>; S. *myδr* 'death' from *mγθyu*, v. §§ 185. 507.

954. (ii) Heavy.

(a) *u* is preserved.

(α) In *-wk*, resulting from the addition of the suffix *-ka-*, v. § 978.

(β) With metathesis, perhaps in *pwrc* 'debt' and Chr. B. *γwrs* '(a)round', v. § 487 sq.

(b) *u* is lost. B. *wβ'z* 'fathom' from Av. *vibāzu*, v. § 218; *wštm'x* 'paradise' from *\*ahu*, cf. § 395.

955. (8) OIr. -ū- stems. *ū* has been shortened in *wδw*, *wδ*, 'wife', v. § 506. It was lost, or transposed through metathesis, in B. *γwšh* 'mother-in-law', cf. § 371.

956. (9) Amongst the OIr. -a- stems are of interest those in *-ya*, on which v. § 494, and verbal nouns from the Present stem or from the root, which mostly belonged to this class. Cf. the following list:

(i) Light stems. Man. B. *wγš* 'joy', B. *wγš* 'joyful', from *wγš*.

949<sup>1</sup> A different reading (*βyšykrn*) is proposed by Benv., *BSOS* ix 496.

'to rejoice', v. § 1212; *ptβy* 'reverence' from *\*patibaya*, v. § 521; *wrm* 'quietness, calm', v. § 213 fn. 2; *xw xwšy* Nom., 'increase' *M* 896, 20, cf. § 428; *pcksy* Nom., 'expectation, outlook' *M* 280, 9, cf. § 175.<sup>1</sup>

957. (ii) Heavy stems. Man. *\*rwxs* 'desire, greed', v. § 539; *'mb'r* 'satiety', cf. § 544; *'ny'm* 'end', § 659, cf. Chr. *'yms* 'to end', § 828; *'pšyyk* 'spilling', § 1168 fn., to Chr. *pšync*, § 600, c; *'wrm* 'quiet', § 213 fn. 2, cf. *\*wrms* 'to become quiet' § 828; *'sprxs* 'twigs', v. *BBB* p. 72 on 573; *βnd* 'prison', *βynd* 'interdiction', § 107, from *βynd* 'to bind'; *βtrng* 'oppression', § 152<sup>a</sup>, to B. *βtr(?)ync* 'to oppress', § 153; *x' δβ'r* 'gift' *M* 144 R 3, to *δβr* 'to give'; *δβyš* 'harm, damage' from *δβyš* 'to harm'; *frzrw* 'timid', cf. § 330; Chr. *\*mr'w* 'crying', from *brām*, v. §§ 310. 351; *pcy'z* 'reception', from *pcy'z* 'to receive', v. *BBB* p. 94 on b 48; *pcqwyr* 'fear', from *pcqwyr* 'to fear'; *pswq* 'purification', to *pswc* 'to purify'; *ptmwk* 'dress', to *ptmync* 'to dress'; *ptnym* 'contemptuous' from B. *ptn'ym* 'to scoff', v. *BBB* p. 64 on 525; *pts'δ* 'appearance, shape' *Kaw*. G 7, cf. Av. *sadaya* 'videri' (H.); *pts'k* 'institution, order, arrangement', cf. *pts'c* 'to arrange', v. *BBB* p. 86 on 725; *ptšm'r* 'figure, counting', cf. Chr. *pcmr* 'to count', v. § 592; Man. *ptz'n T ii D* 63 a 6. 15, Chr. *ptz'n i* 31, 9, 'knowledge', from *ptz'n* 'to recognize'; *pizrn* 'annoyance' *BBB* b 18, *pzrn* 'affliction, sorrow' *M* 697, 3, B. *'pz'rn* VJ 82. 126. &c., from B. *'pz'rn* 'to afflict', v. § 579; *skfs* 'obstinate', v. § 369; *w'zł* Pl. 'wings' *T ii D* 79 a 11, cf. *wz* 'to fly' § 1638; *wryδ* *płryδδ* 'mixture' *BBB* 581; *wyδβ'γ* 'explanation, preaching', cf. B. *wyδβ'ys* 'to unfold', § 213, v. *BBB* p. 87 on 734; *wyg'n* 'destruction' *M* 178 i V 19, from *wygn*, &c., 'to destroy', v. § 219, cf. MPers. *gwq'n*, Parth. *wyg'n*, H., *ZII* ix 189; *wyst'w* 'promise, oath', cf. *'psf'w*, § 546; *wyz'w* 'extinguishing', v. § 216.

958. (10) In isolated nouns the stem includes the OIr. Nominative ending. *w'xš* 'word, speech; spirit', from the root stem *wāk*; *jwxšq* 'disciple' from the *-u-* stem *drigu*, v. §§ 255. 285. 410; *fšy'ws* 'gentleman' from the *-ant-* stem *fšuyant*, cf. § 311. Cf. also *šys* '30', *pnc's* '50', § 1323. [(*'zrw*) § 940, < *zrwā*, Nom. of *zruan*.]

## SUFFIXES

### 959. Alphabetical Index

· 971-4 (948).	·βr 1134.
B. ·βr'y 1134.	B. ·cw 1080.
B. ·wt 1079.	·k 979 sq. 989-93.

956<sup>1</sup> With the last two one cannot be sure whether *-y* is not the *-aka-* suffix. Cf. also *pw pčxšy* 'unseizability' § 1165.

- B. -*k* 960.  
 B. -*kh* 971.  
 B. -*kk* 976 fn. 982 sq.  
 B. -*kw* 960.  
 -*m* 1094.  
 B. -*m'k* 1099.  
 S. -*m'nt'k* 1100.  
 B. -*m'y* 1099.  
 -*mc* 1102.  
 -*mndy* 1100 sq.  
 -*n* 1032-5.  
 B. -*n* 1027. 1031.  
 B. -*n'k* 1039 sq.  
 -*nc* 1043-8.  
 -*ndy* 1068.  
 B. -*nk'r'k* 1126.  
 B. -*nt* 1066.  
 B. -*ntk* 1068.  
 B. -*nty* 1068.  
 -*ny* 1035-8. 1040 sq.  
 -*nyk* 1042.  
 -*rmyk* 1105.  
 B. -*st* 1112.  
 B. -*t(wh)* 1072.  
 -*w* 1075 sq.  
 B. -*w* 960.  
 B. -*w'k* 1082 sq.  
 B. -*w'nt* 1091.  
 -*wc* 1080.  
 Chr. -*wq* 1077.  
 B. -*wn* 1026.  
 B. -*wn'k* 1087.  
 -*wnd* 1091.  
 B. -*wny* 1087 sq.  
 -*wr* (?) 1119.  
 S. -*wt* 1079.  
 -*wy* 1081-3.  
 B. -*y* 960.  
 B. -*y'n* 1050.  
 B. -*yck* 1013.  
 B. -*yδ* 1109.  
 B. -*yγ* 1106.
- B. -*yn'k* 1053.  
 B. -*yn'y* 1055.  
 B. -*yt* 1073.  
 -*b'r* 1129.  
 -*βry* 1130.  
 -*βr* 1131.  
 -*βr'n* 1133.  
 -*βry* 1132. 1130 fn.  
 -*c* 1000-5.  
 Chr. -*c'q* 1019.  
 B. -*c'n'k* 1022.  
 B. -*c'nh* 1023.  
 -*c'ny* 1022 sq.  
 -*cn* 1020.  
 -*cnk* 1021.  
 -*cnwq* 1024.  
 -*cy* 1007.  
 B. -*cy* 1006. 1008 sq.  
 -*cyk* 1014-18.  
 -*cyny* 1025.  
 -*δ'r* 1135.  
 -*δ'ry* 1136.  
 -*δnyy*, B. -*δn'k* 1117.  
 -*gy* 985 fn.  
 B. -*γ* 1108.  
 -*γwny* 1113-15.  
 B. -*h* 971.  
 -*k* 975 sq. 981-8.  
 B. -*k* 960.  
 B. -*k'* 976 fn.  
 -*k'n* 1063 sq.  
 -*k'ny* 1065.  
 -*k'r* 1124.  
 -*k'ry* 1125.

- k'w* 1078.  
 -*kr* 1120 sq.  
 -*kry* 1120. 1122.  
 -*kryny* 1123.  
 -*kw* 999.  
 B. -*kw* 998 sq.  
 -*kwy* 999.  
 -*ky* 998.  
 -*ky'* 985.  
 -*kyn* 1060-2.  
 -*m* 1093-5.  
 -*m'* 1098.  
 B. -*m'k* 1097.  
 B. -*m'y* 1097.  
 -*my* 1097.  
 B. -*my* 1096.  
 -*myc* 1103.  
 -*myk* 1104.  
 -*mync* 1103.  
 -*n* 1026-31.  
 -*n'k* 1059.  
 B. -*n'k* 1056.  
 S. -*n'y* 1056.  
 -*nd* 1066.  
 -*ndy* 1068 sq.  
 -*ng'ry* 1126.  
 B. -*nk'r'k* 1126.  
 Chr. B. -*nt* 1066.  
 -*ny* 1056-8.  
 -*nyk* 997.  
 -*p'* 1137.  
 B. -*p'k* 1137.  
 -*p'r* 1116. 1129.  
 B. -*rmyk* 1105.  
 B. -*s'k* 1112.  
 B. -*st* 1112.  
 -*stn(y)* 1118.  
 Chr. -*sy* 1112.  
 -*t(?)* 1069.  
 S. -*t'c* 1127.  
 \* -*t'ck* 1128 a.  
 -*t'k* 1128.  
 B. -*t'ny(h)* 1074 a.  
 -*t't* 1074.  
 -*ty* 1071.  
 -*ty'* 1070.  
 B. -*tyh* 1070.  
 -*w* 1076 (1190).  
 B. -*w'c* 1138.  
 S. -*w'nh* 1084.  
 -*wc* 1080.  
 -*wk* 978.  
 B. -*wk'* 976 fn.  
 -*wn* 1084 sq.  
 -*wndy* 1092.  
 -*wny* 1086-90.  
 -*wx* 1107.  
 -*y* 960-70, cf. 992. 1017.  
 -*y'* 1111.  
 -*y'k* 1110.  
 B. -*y'kh* 1111 fn.  
 -*y'n* 1049. 1051.  
 -(y)'*wr* 1119.  
 -*yc* 1010 sq.  
 -*yck* 1012.  
 B. -*yck* 1013.  
 -*yδ* 1109.  
 -*yk* 977. 994-8.  
 B. -*yn'k* 1053 sq.  
 -*yn(d)* 1067.  
 -*yny* 1052-5. 1058.  
 S. -*yt(w)* 1073.  
 -*zng'n* 1115.

960. (1) -e from OIr. *-aka-*, spelled Man. *-(y)y(h)*, Chr. *-y*, B. *-(')y*, *·w*, *-k*, *·k*, *·kw*,<sup>1</sup> *Anc. Lett.* *-k*, *·k*, *·kw*.<sup>2</sup> On the inflection of these stems v. §§ 1252 sqq.; on the Feminine of adjectives v. §§ 1271 sqq.; on the old *k* reappearing before the suffix *-y* and occasionally in other cases, v. §§ 985 sqq.

961. (i) Past Participles, cf. § 531. *·wβ·y·y* 'asleep', *pt·s·y·t·y·y* 'arranged', *fryš·t·y·y* 'sent, messenger', *nš·t·y·y* 'spoiled', *xrt·y·y* 'passed', *xwst·y* 'beaten', &c.

(ii) Present Participles, v. §§ 898-904.

962. (iii) Verbal nouns.

(a) From the Present stem.

(α) Nouns of action. *β·y·r·y·y* 'attainment, success' *JRAS*, 1944, 142, 5, from *β·y·r* 'to obtain'; *·γ·δ·y·y* 'wish'; *prwrt·y·y* 'time (French *fois*)', § 1327, from *prwrt* 'to turn'; *x' prw·y·δ·y·y* 'the striving' (?) *M* 280 R 15, from Chr. *prw·y·d* 'to search'; *pš·p·r·y·y* 'advancing', v. *BBB* p. 132; *ptβ·y·δ·y·y* 'λογισμός' from *ptβ·y·δ* 'to recognize'; *s'c·y·y* 'duty', v. *BBB* p. 79 bottom.

963. (β) Nouns of instrument. *py't·y·y* 'ornament' *M* 178 i R 17. V 30, from *py't* 'to adorn', v. § 585, c; Chr. *·n·γ·wnt·y* 'ἱμάτιον' i 5, 9, B. *·n·γ·wnt·k* 'blanket' *VJ* 1129, *·n·γ·wnt·y* ib. 1367, from B. *·n·γ·wnt* 'to dress, cover', *BBB* p. 76 top.

964. (b) From the Past stem. *pr·m't·y·y* in *m'n·pr·m't·y·y* 'φρόνησις' *M* 133, 66. 67 (Nom. and Obl.), from *\*pr·m·y* 'to think' v. *BBB* p. 77 fn. 1; *wyβ·rt·y·y* 'speech', v. *BBB* p. 80 on 662.

965. (c) From the root. *β·nd·y·h* 'slave'; *·sp·s·y·h* 'servant', cf. *BBB* p. 97 bottom; S. *pt·ry·δ·y* 'mixed', v. § 1239.

966. (iv) Substantives. *·n·δ·m·y·y* 'limb'; *β·r·y·y* 'fruit'; B. *cytk*, Man. *cytyt* Pl., 'spirit, ghost'; *·γ·r·m·y·y* 'property, wealth', cf. § 399, c; *mrt·x·m·y·y* 'man'; B. *nyzβ·n'k*, Man. *nyzβ·ny't* Pl., 'passion'; B. *pr'n'k*, Man. *pr'ny't* Pl. 'living being'; *pr·xy·y* 'reward'; *p·xy·y* 'planet'; *zwr·ny·y* 'time, period'; *swnd·y·h*, B. *swntk* *SCE* 442, 'liar'; *xwš·t·y·y* 'teacher', § 230; &c.

960<sup>1</sup> From the historic spellings in B. texts (note that *·ky* is apparently not attested), Tedesco, *ZII* iv 113 sqq., inferred that *-e* was the result of *\*akī* after loss of the intervocalic *-k-*. Such a loss is unparalleled in Sogdian; it is as well to assume that, all ancient endings having been lost after *-k-*, *-ak* became *-e* as in NPers. The only difficulty lies with the B. spelling *·w*. One may surmise that *·w* was taken for an alternative spelling of *·kw* on the analogy of the pseudo-historic (?) spellings *·wn'kw*, *mwn'kw*, *w'n'kw*, *c'n'kw*, beside the phonetic spellings *·wn'w*, *mwnw*, &c., for what was pronounced *ōnu*, *munu*, *wānu*, *čānu*, cf. §§ 1431. 1467. 1595 sqq. [v. Add. p. 308.]

960<sup>2</sup> Judging by the spellings, the change *-ak > -e* had not yet taken place at the time of the *Anc. Lett.*

967. (v) Adjectives. *nwš·y·y* 'immortal'; *škw·y·y* 'dry', v. § 412; *·p·rc* Fem., S. *·p·ryt* *T* *M* 389 a V 8, Pl., 'dark', from *·p·ryy*, which, as far as attested, always means 'darkness'; *β·r·zy·y* 'long' *M* 136 R 2, B. *β·rz'k*, *β·rz'y* *SCE*; *zyrt·y·h* 'yellow' (?) *M* 746 c 5; &c. [v. Addenda.]

968. (vi) Compound suffix with *bahuvrihi*s. *x·γ·wš·y·y* 'hare' *M* 127 V 7; *q·r·myr* *ryt·y·y* 'red-faced' *M* 378, 4, from *ryt* 'face'; *·sp·tk·r·myt* Pl. 'whose deeds (*krm*) are accomplished' *M* 107 ii 18; *m'n* *·nš·k'f·y·y* 'whose mind has been split' *BBB* 542; &c.

(vii) *-aka-* was also added to other suffixes:

-ande 1068.	-karene 1123.
-āme 1099.	-kāre 1125.
-āne 1039 sqq.	-me 1097.
-āvare 1134.	-se 1112.
-āwe 1081-3.	-stane 1118.
-c'nyy 1022 sq.	-te 1071.
-cynyy 1025.	-vare 1132.
-dane 1117.	-vāre 1130.
-dāre 1136.	-wande 1092.
-γōne 1113-15.	-wane 1086.
-kare 1120-2.	-(y)nyy 1052 sqq.

For other suffixes added to *-aka-*, cf. §§ 1017 (*-cyk*). 1103 (*-my(n)c*).

For *-aka-* alternating with other suffixes, cf. §§ 992 (*-āk*). 1044 (*-ānē*). 1057 (*-(e)ne*). 1061 (*-kyn*). 1083 (*-āwe*). 1089 (*-ūne*).

969. (viii) Several heavy stems and compounds have *-aka-* stems beside them. (On light-stem adjectives appearing sometimes with *-e* from *-aka-*, v. §§ 982 fn. 1. 1210. 1211. 1216.) *\*stn* 'constant, permanent', in S. *·pw* *·stny'kh* 'without constancy' 10.120, *·pw* *·stnyh* *Vim* 119; Man. *·stnyy* *M* 264 A 8. *M* 591, 8, *·s[tn]ky* *M* 264 A 7; B. *·sp'yt* 'white': *·sp'ytk*, cf. *ST* ii 576<sup>c</sup>, and B. *·sp'ytkh* Fem., *VJ* 1106, Chr. *spyty* i 16, 9; B. *·γwš'nt* 'happy' *VJ* 54<sup>c</sup>; B. *·γwš'ntk*, Man. *wyšndyy*, v. § 1068; *·yjn* 'worthy': *·yjnndyy*, v. § 290; *δ·yynδ'r* 'electus' *T* ii D 62, 11, Pl. *δ·yynδ'rt* passim: *δ[yn]δ'ryy* Nom., *M* 135 ii 5; B. *kš't'yckry* 'farming': B. *kš't'yckr'k* 'farmer', v. *BBB* p. 72 on 570; B. *p'δ* 'foot' *VJ* 197. 881. *SCE* 116, Pl. *p'δt* *VJ* 246. 804. 970. *SCE* 116, but Man. *p'δyy* *M* 504, 2. 4. *T* ii D 79 c 5, B. *p'δ'y* Nom. *VJ* 65<sup>b</sup>, *p'δ'k* *r'β* 'foot-disease' *P* 2, 36, Pl. Chr. *p'dyt* *ST* i passim, B. *p'δ'yt* *VJ* 779. 803. 1104; *\*tāwand* 'powerful' in Chr. *t'wnt'y* 'power' ii 4, 10, perhaps Man. *t'w(n)dt* *M* 372, 22 (out of context), cf. the Elative B. *w't'w'ntt*, § 1313; Man. *t'wndyy* 'powerful', passim; *xw'qr* 'merchant' (§ 392), Pl. S. *γw'krt* *T* ii D 77 (A I) 8; S. *γw'krytt* ib. 19. Cf. also B. *mrt·m'n*, Gen. Pl. of *\*martoxm* (v. § 1261), against

B. *mrtym'k*, and B. *'py'r'h* 'last night' VJ 3, against Man. *βy'ryy*. S. *βy'r'k* T M 389 a R 25 'evening' (with different preverb).

970. (ix) A number of nouns without suffix in the Singular have -aka- Plurals. *m'x* 'month': Chr. *m'xyt* ii 4, 40, Man. *mydyt'ly m'xyty* M 815 (H i b 8);<sup>1</sup> *myδ* 'day': *mydyt* M 134 ii V 7. M 136 R 3, B. *myδ'yt* VJ 1459 (but Chr. *myθt* i 31, 5); *pz't* 'home': S. *'pz'tyt*, v. § 99; *sm'n* 'sky' M 134 i V 10. M 674, 28, Chr. passim (*sm'nyy*, BBB Gloss. s.v., is Acc.): Man. Chr. *sm'nyt* (but S. *sm'nt* ST i 86, 11); *sr-* (light stem) 'head': Chr. *sryt* i 41, 3; Man. *srδδ* 'year' M 410, 33, Chr. *srδ*: Man. *srδyt* passim. Cf. also S. *γw'krytt*, § 969.

## 971. (2) -'.

(i) Man. Chr. -, B. -'kh and -, -h, from \*ākā-.<sup>1</sup> This suffix can easily be recognized whenever it appears with a stem that would count as heavy if it had no suffix. Where such a stem would count as light, the possibility that -' may represent the feminine formative -ā- (§§ 1170. 1175) can only be excluded if an oblique case or a Plural is attested, as in §§ 1262 sqq.

The same spellings as for \*ākā- are found in the loanwords Man. *wyn* M 135 i 30, S. *wyn'kh* T M 418 R 10, 'lute', from Skt. *vinā*, Man. *q'γδ*, B. *k'γδ'kh* P 2, 951, cf. BBB p. 65 on 527; cf. also *β'z* 'arm' Man. Lett. i 31, Pl. S. *β'z[']yt*, v. § 1268, from *bāzu-*, which can hardly contain \*ākā- (similarly Pahl. *bāzā* (H.)), cf. *prs* § 138.

On the treatment of these stems before another suffix v. §§ 1017. 1062.

972. (a) Verbal nouns. B. *'zyh* 'the fact of being re-born' P 2, 130, L' *'zy* 'non-existence' SCE 563, from *āž(a)y-*, v. § 182 fn.; S. *swc'kh* 'burning' BBB p. 92 on b 15; *šm'r* 'thinking, ἐνθύμησις'; Chr. *wydymp*, B. *wyδ'ynp'h* 'lightning', v. ST ii s.v., cf. Man. *wy]δymb* *wyδ(f)t* (restored by H.) M 247, 14.

973. (b) Substantives. *'ms* 'obedience' Man. Lett. ii 7. 17; *δ'm* 'net' M 127 R 12; Chr. *dn't* 'tooth' i 5, 4, cf. Ossetic *dāndāg*, Hübschmann, ZDMG 41, 331; *kwc*, B. *kwc'kh* 'mouth'; *p'šp* ' '? Man. Lett. i 19, cf. § 1268; *pč'w* 'quarrel' Man. Lett. ii 15; *p'k'r* 'appearance'; Man. Chr. *wr* 'profit, success' Man. Lett. ii 18. ST i 47, 5. 10, S. *wrh* T ii D 77 (A D) 26, B. *wr'kh* SCE 22. P 2, 236; *x'n* 'house' M 135 i 28. ii 59; &c.

(c) Alternating with nought. S. *nβ'yr'kh* P 2, 53; *nβ'yr* P 13, 8, 'consultation, counsel', from *nβ'yr-* 'to deliberate', § 676.

(d) On the abstract suffix -y' from \*yākā- v. § 1111. On -m' v. § 1098. Cf. also §§ 1017. 1062.

970<sup>1</sup> Note, however, the -y of S. *m'yy* 'moon' Nom., T M 393 a R 3.

971<sup>1</sup> Not from \*ākā- (Tedesco, ZII iv 141 sqq.), which would have become -ak > -e, v. § 960 fn.

974. (ii) As recognized by H., -' is added to nominal and verbal forms, merely for recitation purposes, in a poetical text, M 137; such an addition of -' is common in MPers. (for NPers. cf. Horn, Gdr. Ir. Phil. i<sup>2</sup> 172 sq.). *putyk'h* 'skiff, ferry' R 4, cf. Sogd. p. 19 on 15<sup>b</sup>; *murt* 'myrtle' (H.) R 14; *yδ'h* 'thou art' V 9; *nywδn* 'dress' V 10.

## 975. (3) -k, -ak.

## (i) -k.

(a) Light stems. *jwzšq-* 'disciple', cf. § 520; B. *mwysk-* 'fly' (*mwysk'*, with incorrect ending, v. § 1182 fn.; *mwysky* Acc. P 2, 390), cf. §§ 113. 165. 247 fn. 2; B. *mwzrk-* 'short', v. §§ 151. 522, cf. Khot. *mulysga*.

Cf. also *y'tqw-* 'bridge' from \*haētuka-, § 518, and S. (')c(δ)kw- 'tear' from \*asruka-, § 371.

976. (b) Heavy stems (B. often -k').<sup>1</sup>

(a) After consonants. Man. *'xšnyrk* 'sign, characteristic mark', v. BBB p. 88 on 758; *mwck* 'teacher' M 483, 7 (cf. § 397); B. *mz'yγk* 'big', v. § 396; *nyrk* 'male'; *pryng*, a part of the face, M 142 V 4. 8, S. *pr'ynk* Sogd. 5 sq.;<sup>2</sup> *ptxwng* 'murder' JRAS, 1944, 143, 19. ST ii, Man. *γxwng* 'discerning', § 48, cf. § 121; Chr. *sfr'cq* 'res' ST ii; Man. *wzrg* 'great', § 50, B. *wzrk* T iii Š 23 (3) ii 6, Pl. *wz'rkt* VJ 206; Chr. *xrycqt* Pl., i 19, 12 (thus to be read acc. to H.), Sg. B. *γr'yck* Vim 153, 'prostitute'; *xwycq* 'open, loose' Man. Lett. i 25; *zng* 'sort, kind', v. § 164.

976<sup>1</sup> While B. -'kk stands for -dk (v. §§ 982 sq. 989), -k' stands for final -k after consonants or ā, ī ē, ī. Final -' is not used, as far as I can see, after a silent k (§ 960) or after heavy stems in -ak (§§ 982-3).

(i) After consonants: *'γšnyrk* 'sign' Dhy 226; *'ny'zrk* 'different' SCE 12. 67; *'ps'ynk* N. of a bird, SCE 142; *'pyštr'yck* 'future', § 373; *'šp'ck* 'res' SCE 179. Vim passim; *'γwzrk* 'similar' SCE 9. 65. DN 16. 19; *cntrp'r'yck* 'internal' Dhu 53; *'γwycq* 'open, loose' (thus nearly always); *mwck* 'teacher' Vim 67. DN 66; *nyrk* 'male' P 2, 353; *prw'yck* 'previous' SCE 65; *ptywnk* 'murder' SCE 421; *RBk* 'great' Dhu 76. T ii T 14 (= \*wzrk'); *snk* 'stone' VJ 780. 1266; *zr'nk* 'deliverance' P 2, 10.

(ii) After -ā-: *γnt'k* 'bad' SCE 117; *mwz'k* 'teacher' T M 389 a R 39; *pcm'k* 'haughty' SCE 405; *wy'k* 'place, spot' SCE 542. Dhu 84; *zr'k* 'in vain, lost' VJ 1326.

(iii) After -y-: *'kδrycyk* 'present' SCE 493; *βyk* 'outside' Vim 57. VJ 132. 146. 374; *δrm'yk* 'connected with the dharma' SCE 506. Vim 68; *γw'ncyk* 'wanting' VJ 159; *šyr'yk* 'pious' § 994.

(iv) After -w-: *'swk* 'gazelle' SCE 151. 354; *'βyz'γwk* 'wretched' VJ 958. 1382; *β'wk* 'brow' SCE 100; *βrzwk* 'length' Dhy 96; *γδwk* 'throne' VJ 204. 324. 797. 1308; *m'n'wk* 'similar' T M 389 a R 12; *z'nwk* 'knee' VJ 97.

Although in some of these examples -' may be historical spelling of an Ablative, Feminine, or Plural ending, the general tendency is clear.

976<sup>2</sup> [v. Addenda.]

977. (β) After *i* resulting from contraction, cf. §§ 202 sqq. *δstyk* 'second' from \**dwitiyaka-*; *styk* 'third' from \**θritiyaka-*; Chr. *sfnyq* 'iron' *ii* 5, 17, from \**āspanyaka-*, cf. Morgenstierne, *EVP* 12,<sup>1</sup> v. § 1055; S. *swydyk*, *sywdyk* 'Sogdian' from \**suwḍiyaka-*, cf. B. *sywḍy'nk*, § 1040. Thus a suffix *-ik* came into use, on which v. §§ 994 sqq.

978. (γ) After *u*, *ū* (original, or issued from a contraction or a diphthong). Cf. § 998 sq. B. *swk* 'gazelle', § 976 fn., iv, cf. NPers. *āhū*, Hübschm., *PSt.* 11, Khot. *aska-*, Bailey, *BSOS* viii 118; \**yw rδwk* 'sincere', v. § 423; Chr. *bž'xwq* 'miserable', v. § 391; *γδwk* 'throne'; Chr. *γztwq* 'saliva' *ii* 1, 25; *δ'rwk* 'wood'; *j(n)wuwq* 'knee', § 264; *jwk* 'sound, safe' < \**drūka-* < \**druwaka-*, v. § 285 and *BBB* p. 61 on 516; *m'rwk* 'similar', Pl. *m'rwkt* *M* 771, 4; Man. *n'zwk* 'dear, beloved' *T ii D* 66, 1, 6. *T ii D* 207, 30, B. *n'zwk* *VJ* 64. 1387, cf. Parth. *n'zwg*, Ghilain, 59, NPers. *nāzūk*; *nyδβnwk* 'damage' *BBB* 588; *pjwq* 'abortion', v. § 379; *smwq* *Sogd.* 35, 10; *srwq* 'speech' from \**srauka-*, cf. Av. *sravah-*, v. *Sogd.* 45 bottom; *tpsnuwq* 'annoyance' *Sogd.* 48, 6; *tpwuwq* *Sogd.* 47, 2; *w'yw(k)* *M* 127 R 12, *w'ywq* *M* 373, 2, 'hunter', cf. MPers. or Parth. *w'ywq* *BBB* 101, from Av. *vā(y)-*, v. H., *Kaw.*, 68 fn. 2; Chr. *y'twq* 'sorcerer' *ST ii*; B. *z'rwk* 'knee' *VJ* 374, from \**zānwaka-*; Man. *z(n)w(q)* 'chin, jaw', § 375. On. B. *Brzwk* 'length' v. § 999. [*w'ywq*, cf. Oss. *ūayug* 'giant'.]

979. (δ) After *ā*. On the suffix *-āk* v. §§ 989-93. OIr. *-ā-* stems. *zβ'k* 'tongue' from Av. *hizvā-*, cf. Oss. *āwzāg*; (?) *ps'k* 'wreath' from Av. *pusā-*, cf. § 171; \**my'k* 'happiness' from Av. *mayā-*, and *sy'k* 'shadow, canopy' from Av. \**sayā-*, v. § 124.

980. Roots in *-ā-*. Cf. Skt. *pivah-sphāka-* 'swelling with fat' from *sphāy-*, Whitney, § 1186 a. *pršt'q* *M* 133, 80. *M* 110 *i* R 9, B. *pršt'k* *VJ* 39<sup>e</sup>, 'equipment, armour', from *pršt'y-* 'to prepare'; *pš'q* 'abortion' (cf. H., *Kaw.*, 53) *T ii B*, and passim, from *pš'y-* 'to throw'; *ptm'k* 'measure' from \**ptm'y-*, cf. B. *ptm't'y*, Past Partc., *SCE* 155. Cf. also from \**χwāhaka-*: *frxw'k* 'chopping' *Sogd.* 31, 23, *pcxw'q* 'obstacle', *pxw'q* 'piece', *yxw'k* *T ii D* 116, 3, S. *γrw'k* *Sogd.* p. 5. *Frg iii* 9, 'part'.

981. (ii) *-ak*.

(a) Light stems. (a) *stak-* 'bone' (Chr. *stqy* Nom., B. *'stkw(h)* Acc., *'stk* Pl., v. *BBB* p. 93 on b 37, B. *'stk* Abl., *P* 2, 370), cf. MPers. *'stg*; *'xšnk-* (αχšnak-) 'magnificent', v. § 511.

977<sup>1</sup> Cf. Khwār. *espanī* (H.). For the dialect pronunciation *sf* inst. of *sp*, cf. NPers. *sefēd/sepēd*.

982. (b) *-ak* added to light stems\*, often spelled *-kk* in B. texts (Tedesco's 'strong *k*', *ZII* iv 116 sq. (§§ 40. 43)). *'sptk* 'complete' *M* 116 V 7,<sup>1</sup> beside *'spt-* (§ 1192); Man. *'(s)pwrn'k* 'complete' *T ii D* 163 b *i* 5; γδβk \*'bitch', v. § 239; Chr. *qbnq* (only Chr. form attested), B. *kβn'kk* *VJ* 1463. 1475, 'little', against Man. B. *kβn-*, Man. *kβn* (v. § 1211); Man. *šyrq*, B. *šyr'kk* 'good, beautiful',<sup>2</sup> beside *šyr-* (v. §§ 1208 sqq.). \*[The whole forming a heavy stem.]

983. (c) *-ak* added to heavy stems (B. *-kk*).<sup>1</sup> *rynck* *M* 136 passim, *ryncq* *M* 617 *ii* 29, Chr. *ryncq*, *rync'q* *i* 30, 9, B. *rync'kk*, 'small, child'. Cf. also *γyšcnk*, § 1021.

984. (iii) *-k* or *-ak*.

(a) *wu qnck* 'small girl' *BBB* e 22 (for *wu* used with a Fem. v. § 1427 sq.); *zyrtk* \*'old man' (?) *M* 760, 6;<sup>1</sup> with unclear ending, Chr. *s't ywpt'qy* 'ōlos' *i* 70, 11 < *i p't*, § 1327.

985. (b) The *k* of *-aka-* stems reappears in non-final position:

(a) Regularly before the abstract suffix *-y*, § 1111.<sup>1</sup> *frnxwnd(b)ky* 'bliss' < *frnxwndyy* 'lucky, blissful'; *ptšrtqy* 'being frozen' *Sogd.* 21, 13; *t'wundqy* 'power' from *t'wundyy*, § 969; *wyγr'tky* 'watchfulness' from *wyγr'tyy*; &c.

986. (β) Before the Oblique ending. Man. only *wy'h'nw'zky* 'in the assembly' *M* 117, 7 sq., cf. Chr. *w'zy*, B. *nw'z'k*, § 658.

987. (γ) Before the Plural ending. Man. only *ptqrktyy* Obl., 'pictures', v. *BBB* p. 93 on b 40.

988. (iv) Except where final *k* is preceded by a consonant (§ 975 sq., possibly also § 984) or *i* (§ 977), *ā* (§ 978), *ā* (§ 979 sq.), the reason for its preservation is not clear. With some words it may lie in a special function attached to the suffix. Thus diminutives may be recognized

982<sup>1</sup> Cf. B. *'sptk* *VJ* 38. 63; in B., however, an *\*-aka-* stem *əspate* is attested by the spellings *'spt'k*, *o'y*, *o'iy*, *o'w*.

982<sup>2</sup> Man. *'w w šyrk* (7) [*T ii D* 167 *iii*; *šyrq jn* *i* B 4981 f 7; *šyrq r't* 'gift' *M* 133, 43 sq.; B. *šyr'kk* *ywt* *ZY* *ywcu cš'nt* 'nice food and drinks' *VJ* 61; *šyr'kk ny'wδn* 'clothes' *VJ* 1293; *šyr'kk βš'm-* 'faire la bonne conduite' *VJ* 1343. Cf. Khot. *širkā* Masc., from \**širaka-*, *širka* Fem., v. Bailey, *BSOS* x 579 on 3. Prof. Bailey has also kindly pointed out to me the Comparative *širkyerā* < \**širkatara-*. The adjective B. *šyr'kk* must not be confused with the abstract *šyr'k*, § 198.

983<sup>1</sup> Sogdianized spelling *-k* for Parth. *-g* (= *ag*) is found in *pδw'xtq* 'Answer', v. *BBB* s.v., and *mhyštk* 'presbyter'.

984<sup>1</sup> The same text has *x'n* (fem. article) *zyyr*['old woman' (?)], cf. *VJ* 50 'cw m's'k'cw *zyrth*, ib. 122 *wβy w zyrt* *ZY* *m's'k*, 'old men and old women (?)' (cf. in the latter enumeration *šmny šmn'nch*, line 120, 'monks and nuns').

985<sup>1</sup> The following examples suggest that the *a* which preceded *-ky*, had not been reduced: *'wswyfm'n'ky* 'purity of mind' *BBB* 732 sq., *nwš'ky* 'immortality' *M* 264 A 6, *nworn'ky* 'lack of belief' *BBB* 634, *wyc'wyqy* 'testimony' *BBB* p. 94 on b 46. On the examples with *-gy* v. § 246.

in *rynck* (§ 983), Chr. *qbnq* (§ 982), Man. *qnck* (§ 984), possibly also in *zyrtk* (§ 984) and *γδβk* (§ 982), cf. NPers. *-ak* for diminutives, Horn, *Gdr. Ir. Phil.* i<sup>2</sup> 175.

989. (4) *-āk*. Cf. § 979 sq.

(a) Added to verbal stems. *γρβ'k* 'wise'; *γnd'k*, B. *γnt'kk*, *γnt'k(?)*, 'bad', cf. Bal. *gandag*, Parth. *gnd'g* 'stinking'.

990. (b) Western Iranian loanwords, or words possibly influenced by WIr. forms. Chr. *trs'q*, S. *trs'k*, 'Christian', cf. NPers. *tarsā*; Man. *nywš'k* 'auditor', Parth. *ngwš'g*; *nw'k* 'melody', MPers. *nw'g*; *mwj'k* 'teacher, bishop', proper Sogdian *mwck* (§ 976).

991. (c) Words of unclear formation. *w'k* 'place, region'; *fr'k* 'early, in the morning'; *pcm'k* 'haughty'; *srw'j'ky* '?' Sogd. 27, 13; S. *šn'kk* T M 393 ii R 13. P 2, 894, Man. Pl. *šn'qt* M 579, 3 (unclear context); B. *t'gw'kk* 'child'; *wj'k*, (?) *wj'k*, 'letter of the alphabet', v. § 472; *wy'k* 'place, spot'; *yp'k* 'anger'.

992. (d) *-āk* alternating with *-e*. Man. *kwδ'k* 'shirt' M 137 V 12; Chr. *qwrty*, cf. H., BSOS viii 585 fn. 3, Benv., BSOS ix 513 sq.

993. (e) *-āk* alternating with nought. Man. *cšnd'k* 'drink', beside Chr. *cšnt*, B. *cš'nt*, v. BBB p. 74 on 592.

(f) On *-n'k* v. § 1059.

994. (5) *-ik*. On its origin v. § 977.

(i) Derives adjectives and nouns from nouns, adjectives and adverbs.

(a) Adjectives. *pyk* 'aquatic', cf. NPers. *ābi*; *ftmyk* 'first', v. § 1331; *njmnnyq* 'belonging to the assembly'; B. *sp's'ykt n'β* 'service-people', cf. *sp'syḥ*, § 965, v. BBB p. 97 bottom; *βjyk* 'sinful'; *cxš'ptyk* 'relating to the commandments' M 891, 2; B. *δ'tyk* 'just' SCE 32, cf. *δ'tcyq* § 1017; *δrmyk* M 882, 16, *δrmyq* M 410, 42, B. *δrm'yk*, 'relating to the dharma'; *fcmbδykt* Pl., 'denizens of the world' Kaw. V 10. 23, cf. Chr. *fcmbδcyq* § 1014; B. *γ'γ'ykth* Pl. 'source' VJ 1445; Man. *ktyβryk* BBB p. 71, S. *ktyβryky* T ii S 20 i R hl., 'worldly, household-', cf. Parth. *kdybr*, NPers. *kadēvar*, H., BSOS ix 84; B. *nwš'ykh* 'of eternity' Vim 118, cf. B. *nwšmync* § 1103; *p'ryyk* M 765 d 1, Pl. *p'rykt* T ii B R 11, Chr. *p'ryqt* B 49, 20, 'other', cf. MPers. *b'ryg* v. Horn, *Np. Et.*, 266 (H.); *p'tyk* 'relating to the place of origin', § 99; (?) *sk'tryk* 'more, higher', v. § 1287; B. *snk'yk(w)* 'relating to the *saṃgha*' SCE 165 sqq.; B. *š'ykn'yk* 'de cour' VJ 1420. 1422, from *š'ykn* 'palace'; B. *šyr'yk* 'pious' Vim 69. 70; *tmyq* 'dark, hellish', cf. Chr. *tmycyq* § 1014; Man. *wnyq* 'overcome', § 897 fn. 2, from *wānāni*.<sup>1</sup>

995. (b) Nouns. Man. *nd(ry)kt* Pl. 'eunuchs' T i D 51, B. *ntrykt* Vim 156, *ntr(?)yk(w)* SCE, from *antar*; *δ(y)nykt* M 904 i 9, S. *δyn'ykty* T M 389 a V 25, Pl. 'believers', cf. Pahl. *dīnik* (on *δynmy(n)c* v. § 1103); Man. *kncyk* 'girl' from *\*knc*, v. § 247 with fn. 1; *qyšykt* M 140 V 9, S. *kyšyky*, Pl. 'heretics', v. Sogd. 5; *p'šyk* 'hymn', cf. Parth. *b'š'h*; Man. *pwtyk'h* 'skiff, ferry', v. § 974; *rwcyk* 'provisions' (H.) M 399, 2. 5, cf. NPers. *rūzi*.

996. (c) Names of peoples, cf. *swydyk*, § 977. Chr. *pryš'yqt* Pl. 'Pharisees' i 45, 11; *swryktyy* Pl. 'Babylonians' Man. Lett. ii 15 v. H., BSOS x 941 fn. 3; Chr. *ysr'ylyqty* Pl. 'Israelites' i 8, 9. 32, 18. In the *Nāfnāmak* (Sogd. 8 sqq.) S. *\*kwcyk* 'Kuchean', *γwδnyk* 'Khotanese', *p'rsyk* 'Persian', *swt'yk* 'Sogdian'.

997. (ii) A group of adjectives is derived from verbal nouns in OIr. *-(a)na-* (cf. §§ 1026 sqq.).<sup>1</sup> Man. *\*frkyrnyk* 'indifferent', v. BBB p. 74 on 605; Chr. *pyrnyq* 'faithful' i 44, 4, from *pyr-* 'to believe'; Man. *wyδ'snyq* 'admirable' M 178 i R 12, from B. *wyδ's*- Chr. *wyδ's*-.

Not quite certain are B. *\*st'nyk* 'messenger'<sup>2</sup> VJ 1384, cf. Pašto *astājai*, id., *āstawul* 'to send', EVP 12, Sanglechi *āstay-* 'to send' IIFL ii 382; Chr. *b'w nyqw* 'sufficient' i 8, 12, from *\*bāw-* 'to be complete' (H.), S. *prβ'rnykw* *pwstk* Anc. Lett. ii 47, *prβ'rnyk* ib. 43, meaning not clear, but possibly connected with *prβyr-* 'to explain'.

(iii) On *-cyk* v. §§ 1014 sqq.; on *-myk* v. § 1104; on *β'nyk* v. § 1042.

998. (6) *-ēk*. Forms Present Participles in Chr., v. § 897.

[(6<sup>a</sup>) *-ky*, distributive suffix, v. *Trans. Phil. Soc.* 1948, p. 63.]

(7) *-ūk*. *-wk* resulting from the addition of *-k* to *-u-* stems, &c., has been treated in § 978. Here only a reference to B. *βrzwk* 'length' § 999, and the double suffix *-cnwk* § 1024, is required.

(8) *-ku*. Metathesis of *-uk* (§ 978). Examples under § 423.

999. (9) *-kw*, *-kwy*, B. also *-kwy*, suffix of extension. It may be similar in origin to No. 8, but the details are not clear. B. *pδkw* VJ 60<sup>a</sup>, Man. *pδkwy* T ii D 116, 8. 19. 23. 24, S. *pδkwy* T ii D 79 (2) V 6, B. *pδkwy* *Dhy* 96, Accusative in all clear passages, Man. *pδkw* M 498 c 2, possibly Nominative, 'width'; Man. *βrzkwy* M 372, 17, *βrzkwy* T ii D 116, 8, 'length', but B. *βrzwk* *Dhy* 96, from *βrzyy* 'long', § 967; B. *δβ'nzkwy* T iii Š 23 (3) ii 8, Man. *δβ'nzkwy* v. BBB

997<sup>1</sup> Viz. from OIr. *-aniya(ka)-*. The original function of this suffix seems to consist in expressing a possibility or necessity in the passive, 'trustworthy' (*pyrnyq*, as against *prm'n* i 44, 1), admirable, to be sent', cf. the Khotanese Participle of necessity, formed from verbal nouns in *-āna- + -ya(ka)-*, v. Konow, *Saka Studies*, 58; with the latter the long vowel of S. *wyn'ncy(k)* 'visible' (§§ 1006. 1014) may possibly be compared, if from a verbal noun *\*waināni-* with a *k-* suffix (cf. § 247).

997<sup>2</sup> [v. Addenda.]

s.v. (by analogy to the suffix *-wyy*, § 1082) 'thickness', from \**δβnz* 'wide, thick', cf. § 1290.

### 1000. (10) -č.

(i) From OIr. *-č*. *nm'c* 'reverence', cf. MPers. Parth. *nm'c*, NPers. *namāz*, &c.

1001. (ii) From OIr. *-k-*. *mrc* 'death' from Av. *mahrka-*, v. § 249; B. *''r'ync* 'cubit', Man. *\*knc* 'girl', B. *zm'wrc* 'ant', v. § 247; *stryc* 'female', v. § 248.

1002. (iii) From OIr. *-ti-*, cf. § 275. Verbal nouns, cf. those in *-cy*, §§ 1007 sqq. Man. *xryc* 'the act of buying', v. H., BSOS viii 587; possibly *'k/xšyc*, cf. § 343; B. *c'm'kh pyδ'r y'βch* 'because of my going away' VJ 1412 sq.; Chr. *prxšy'qc* 'lamentation' ii 3, 53, from *√xš-* (cf. § 1084) + *krti-*? (connexion with *√kar-* suggested by Lentz, Gloss., s.v.); similarly Chr. *pcyp'qc* ib., with an obscure first part of the compound (cf. BBB p. 92 on b 17), and, with Oblique ending, Chr. *cn y'b'qcy* B 49, 14, from Man. B. *y'β-* 'to rove, go abroad'. Here perhaps also B. *'βyzβ'rc(yh)*, cf. § 1008.

1003. (iv) Of unclear origin.

(a) Adjectives and adverbs. Man. *r'δc* 'on the way', B. *r'δct* Pl., v. BBB p. 89 on a 1, cf. B. *r'δcyk* § 1014; *\*nāfē* 'a national, member of a community',<sup>1</sup> from *nāf* 'people', cf. *n'fcyk* § 1015; S. *wyδβ'ycty* Pl. 'preachers' BBB p. 87 line 4, from *wyδβ'y* 'homily, explanation', cf. B. *wyδβ'ycy* § 1006; B. *prt'mch* 'pronus, prone' VJ 205. 274. 1027. 1278, *prt'mcy* ib. 1080. 1308 (always with *w'pt* 'fell'), perhaps from *\*partama-*;<sup>2</sup> B. *krnw'ncw* 'skillful', Man. *grnw'ncy* 'skill', from *\*krnwāni-*, v. § 1032, cf. B. *wyn'ncy*, *pr''δ'ncy*, § 1006.

1004. (b) Substantives. *γwnc* 'colour' M 664, 24; *'ndwxc* 'sorrow', cf. § 396; Man. *'nxwnc*, Chr. *'xwncy* (Abl.) B 49, 22, Man. Chr. *'wxwnc* (preverb *awa-*)<sup>1</sup> M 900, 8. ST ii 5, 15, 'struggle, fight'; *pwrc* 'debt', v. § 487.

1005. (v) Feminine of heavy-stem adjectives and participles in *-e* from *-aka-*, v. § 1273. Here may be mentioned some which have been substantivized, viz. Chr. *spnync* 'iron' (cf. § 1055), B. *''pkynch* 'crystal', v. Bailey, Zor. Probl. 131, Man. *z'tyβrc* 'womb' M 452, 5, v. BBB p. 73.

1003<sup>1</sup> Attested through (1) Chr. *γw'm (wy'm) n'fc* 'guest', v. § 421; (2) B. *n'βc'n'y* 'local, national' SCE 258, v. § 1040; (3) B. *n'βc'kh (nāfēa?)* 'country' Vim 144. Frg iii 6; (4) *nāfēya* 'country', B. *n'βcy* Vim 140, *n'βcyh* Vim 105, *n'βcy'kh* Vim 101. SCE 565, *kyr'n n'βcy'kh z'yh* 'land of the border-countries (Chin. *pays [d'au delà] des frontières*)' SCE 395.

1003<sup>2</sup> [v. Addenda.]

1004<sup>1</sup> Differently H., BBB p. 63 on 519.

### 1006. (11) -cy.

(i) Adjectives from nouns. Only B., often as a side-form of *-cyk*. Origin not clear. *β'wcy* 'sufficient', cf. *β'wcyk*, § 1014; *myδ'ncy* 'middle' ST ii. P 2, 49, from *myδ'n* subst. 'middle, waist', cf. Chr. *\*myδ'ncyq* § 1014, and NPers. *miyānjī*, v. Lentz, ZII iv 296; *pr''δ'ncy šwt* 'skwn' 'is being sold' VJ 1289, from *parādan* 'selling', v. § 122; *ptz'ncy* 'kalyānamitra' (Weller) Vim 73, from *ptz'n* 'recognition',<sup>1</sup> cf. the verbal noun B. *ptz'ncy* § 1008, and B. *ptz'ncyk* § 1014; *srcy* 'chief' SCE 539, 'anuttara' Vim 55, *srcy ptm'wk* 'overcoat' ib. 87, *srcy* . . . *dyβty* . . . *c'δrcyk* 'firstly, secondly, lastly' SCE 420 sq., cf. B. *srcyk*, § 1014; *wyδβ'ycy* 'eloquent' SCE 503. 535. Vim 2, cf. S. *\*wyδβ'y* § 1003; *wyn'ncy* Vim 101. 102. 109. 112. 124, *wyn'nc'y* ib. 127, *wyn'wcy* Dhu 27, 'visible', from *\*wyn'n* (v. §§ 997 fn. 1032),<sup>1</sup> *\*wyn'w* (v. § 1075), cf. *wyn'ncyk*, *wyn'wcyk*, § 1014.

(ii) From adverbs. B. *c'δrcy* 'lower' ST ii, cf. *c'δrcyq* § 1014; B. *prt'mcy*, § 1003, may be merely an oblique case of *prt'mch*.

1007. (iii) Old verbal noun in *-ti-*, cf. those in *-č*, § 1002. Man. *fr'wycyh* 'forgetfulness', B. always with *wn-* 'to forget', v. § 382.

1008. (iv) With a number of verbal nouns in S., it is not clear whether they have *-cy* added to the Present stem or are ancient *-ti-* nouns. They have been collected by Lentz, ST ii, s.v. *'nd'yšcy*.

(a) Nouns of action. *c'un 'nd'yšcy pyδ'r* 'because of rejecting' (mistranslation of the Chinese original, v. BBB p. 87 on 753);<sup>1</sup> *'w ptz'ncy tys-* 'to enter into recognition' Vim 156, from *ptz'n-* 'to recognize' (cf. *ptz'ncy 'kalyānamitra'* § 1006); *wytr'nt ZKn rwstmy 'škracy* 'they went to chase Rustam'; cf. also B. *'βyzβ'rcyh*<sup>2</sup> 'misery' SCE 396 (v. S. *'βzβ'r'k* § 1132).

1009. (b) Gerundive. *γrβcy* 'one must know'.<sup>1</sup>

### 1010. (12) -yc.

(a) Nouns. *βndktyc* Fem. 'prison', v. BBB p. 96 on b 75, cf. Wakhi *ktič* 'hut'; *δrtyc* 'dung', v. Sogd. 29 sq.; *qyštyc* 'cornfield'; Chr. *qwpwtyc* 'pigeon', Man. *\*wr'yyc* 'crow', v. § 1186 fn. 1.

1011. (b) Adjective. Man. B. *''mtyc* 'true' M 286 i 15. M 591, 15, S. *''mtyct* Pl., T M 389 a R 33, B. also 'truly', v. BBB p. 76 on 614.

(c) Feminine suffix, v. §§ 1275 sqq.; on *-myc* v. § 1103.

1006<sup>1</sup> It is possible that *ptz'ncy* was shortened by haplology from *\*patzānān-* (cf. § 475), in which case it would form a special group with *wyn'ncy*.

1008<sup>1</sup> [But cf. MPers. *hnds-*, Parth. *'nd's-* 'leave, abandon' H., BSOS ix 83.]

1008<sup>2</sup> *'βyzβ'rch* in BBB p. 78 on 634, is a misprint.

1009<sup>1</sup> [Cf. Man. *prβyrc[y]* 'one must tell' JRAS, 1945, 155, No. 6.]



## 1012. (13) -yck.

(a) Diminutives, -ičak. Cf. NPers. -ize (Horn, *Gdr. Ir. Phil.* i<sup>2</sup> 181). *tšycq* 'spade' (H.) *Man. Lett.* i 18; perhaps *xwšycq* *Man. Lett.* i 17 'reservoir' (?), B. *γwšyck* SCE 528.

1013. (b) Adjectives, -ičk (cf. § 976 n.). Only B., usually with a form in -cyk beside. Metathesis from -cyk, §§ 1014 sqq., cf. Khwār. *stamitsk* 'first' (H.). *βykp'ryck*, *βykp'rcyk*, 'external', *cntrp'r'yck*, *cntrp'r'cyk*, 'internal', v. BBB p. 80 bottom; *prw'yck* 'former, previous' SCE 65, from OPers. *paruwa-*; *pyrnm'yck*, *pyrnm'cyk*, id., v. BBB p. 87 bottom; *pyštr'yck*, *pyštr'cyk*, 'future', v. § 373; *t'y'yck* 'stealthily' VJ 339, from *t'yh* 'thief' ib. 239 [Cf., for the meaning, Arm. *gall* etc., Hübschmann, A. G. 431].<sup>1</sup>

## 1014. (14) -cyk.

(i) Nominal suffix, making adjectives.

(a) S. *mankcyk* 'true' ST i 86, 7. 87, 22, from *mng*, id., v. BBB p. 76 on 614; *ykwuncyq* 'eternal' M 635 i 12, from *ykwun* 'eternally', v. § 423; *(ny)mcyq* 'final' M 378, 3, from *ny'm* 'end'; B. *sk'lmcyk*, v. § 1296, cf. *skycyk* § 1017, and *sk'lyq* § 994; *skwuncyq* 'present, contemporary', v. § 635 fn. 2; B. *wt'kcyk* Pl. 'local' VJ 57; B. *β'wcyk* 'sufficient', cf. BBB p. 68 on 546, and Chr. *b'w nyqw* § 997; B. *βyyst'n cykt* Pl. 'living in the β.' VJ 1005; *βykcycyk* 'external'; *c'δrcyq* 'low(est)' M 178 ii V 28, and passim, cf. B. *c'δrcy*, § 1006 ii; *cyndrcyk* Pl. 'internal' BBB; B. *δ'mcyk* 'worldly' ST ii, cf. B. *δ'mc'n'k* § 1022; *δwkcycyk* M 337, 1, B. *δwkcycyk* P 2, 47, 'worldly', from *loka*; B. *δy'ncyk* 'dhyāna-like' T M 422, 2; Chr. *fcmbdcyq* 'worldly' i 81, 14, Man. [*fcml*] *δdcyk* T ii D 12, 2, B. *βc'n'pδcykt* Pl., ST ii, cf. *fcmbδyk* § 994; *ftmcyk* 'first', v. § 1331; B. *γrcyktyh* Pl. 'mountain-' VJ 1444; B. *γw'ncyk* (?) 'necessary, wanted' VJ 127. 159; *jmncyq* 'timely'; Man. *qδrycykt* Pl., T ii D 139 ii 16, B. *kδrycyk* SCE 493, 'present', from *kδry* 'now'; Chr. *qntcyqt* Pl. 'urban' ii 5, 42; *n' kry'cyq* 'untimely' *Man. Lett.* ii 11, from *kry* 'sequence', v. § 1120; Man. Chr. *m'ncyq* 'intentional, spiritual' T ii B V 16. ST ii 2, 20; Man. *m'xjmnncyk* 'taking place on Mondays'; Man. B. *my'kcyk* 'happy', v. § 124; Chr. *myδ'ncyqy* 'mediation', ii 6, 37, cf. B. *myδ'ncy* § 1006; *myyδcyq* 'diurnal'; *nymyδcyk* 'taking place at noon', v. § 81, 3; S. *p'šcyk* 'relating to the fast, the service' (H.) T M 389 a V 33; *pc'ycyq* 'useful' from *pcyy'y* 'profit', v. § 199; *n' pδkcyq* 'unlawful' *Man. Lett.* ii 11, cf. B. *pδkmync* § 1103; *pty'mcyk* 'final' M 107 i 51, from *pty'm* 'end'.

<sup>1</sup> 1013<sup>1</sup> In DN (= P 5) 55, read *trzmncyk* inst. of Gauthiot's *trzm'n'yck*. Cf. § 1144.

v. BBB p. 98 on c 16; B. *ptz'ncyk* *Dhu* 137, Pl. *ptz'ncykt* *Vim* 62 'kalyāṇamitra, spiritual adviser' (Weller), from *ptz'n* 'recognition', cf. *ptz'ncy* § 1006; B. *r'δcyk* 'on the way' T 1 M 421, 5, cf. *r'δc* § 1003; *ružšn'γδmncykt* Pl. 'belonging to the paradise'; Chr. *sm'ncyq* 'heavenly'; Man. *(s)ngcyk zyryn* 'gold in the stone' T i D (Par. 41), cf. B. *snk'yn'k* § 1053; B. *srcyk* 'superior' SCE 199, cf. B. *srcy* § 1006; B. *tymcyk* 'seed-' *Dhu* 29; Chr. *lmcyq* 'hellish' ii 5, 39, cf. Man. *lmcyq* § 994; *wštm'xcyk* 'paradisical' M 129 V 14. M 849, 4; Man. *wyn'ncyk* M 358, 7. M 910 ii 5. T ii D 12, 8, S. *wyn'ncyk* T M 389 a R 31 (cf. Man. *wyncyk*, § 475, but also § 1018), Man. Chr. *wyn'wcyq*, passim, 'visible', cf. B. *wyn'ncy*, *wyn'wcy*, § 1006; *xšpncyk* 'nocturnal', v. § 945; Man. *xwrsncyk* T ii D 116, 34, *xwrsnck* M 857 V hl., 'eastern'; *yxwngcyqy'h* 'discernment' *Sogd.* 31, 7; cf. also the examples in § 1013. [Man. *[t]yw'qcyk* 'childish' (?) T i D (Par 42), cf. Chr. *tyw'q maync* § 1103.]

1015. (b) Substantivized. Man. *nwyqy* 'frywuncyk' *tyy* *γwβty'h* 'new blessings and praise' T ii D 207, 8 sq., 'frywuncyq *kwn-* 'to pray' BBB = 'frywn *kwn-* M 858, 2, but Chr. adj. 'blessed' i 34, 5 (Man. 'frywuncyk *frn* M 600, 5, is ambiguous); *nfrywuncyk* M 117, 3, 'curse', from *nfrywn* 'curse' § 1084; B. *n'βcykt* Pl. 'nationals, people' *Vim* 62, Man. *n'fcyk* *n'fyy* \*'own tribe' (?) M 904 ii 7, cf. \**nāfē* § 1003; *nwpt'frywuncyk* Pl. 'oubliettes', v. BBB p. 88 on 756.

1016. (c) Ethnica. S. *r'kcyk* 'inhabitant of Argi' *Sogd.* 8, 13; *wucwrcyk* 'of Uδ(-Turfan)' M 1, 110, v. H., BSOS ix 568; Chr. *frumcyqt* Pl. 'Byzantines' ii 1, 57, 'Byzantine' ii 4, 42.

1017. (d) This suffix can be added to -aka- stems: Man. *β'rycyk* 'riding animal', B. *β'r'kcyk*, v. BBB p. 54 on 489, and cf. § 902; *pš'x'rycyk* 'belonging to the after-meal', v. BBB p. 98 sq.; *skycyk* M 674, 23, *skycyq* M 178 ii V 32, cf. § 1216; *zwrnncyk* 'belonging to an epoch'. When it is added to -ākā- stems, they assume the form they have before the Plural ending (cf. § 1268, and *šm'rykyn*, § 1062), judging by Chr. *x'nycyqty* Pl. 'members of the household' i 8, 15, Man. *x'nycyk* M 617 i 28, *x'(ny)cykt* ib. 38, from *x'n* 'house'; cf., however, Man. Chr. *δ'icyq* *Sogd.* 35, 7. ST i, 'lawful', from \**δāt* (cf. the compound Chr. *d'tbr* 'judge', and B. *δ't'yk* § 994), against B. *δ't'kh*.

1018. (ii) Future Participles (?) from the Present stem. *qδ'* . . . *yδc mry'rt swmbcyq γw't* 'if any pearls are to be bored' M 135 i 45 sq.; *r'yycyq* 'to be wept over' (?) *Sogd.* 39, 15; B. *sy'ntcyk* 'ridiculous' *Intox. Sūtra* 10, cf. Benv., Notes ii 241; uncertain is S. [ZY](β)y *kδryh*

*γwβw kwncyf'w 'sk[w]nt T i a (6) R 6 sq.* 'and they are now due to make you king' (H.); *wyncyk*, § 475, may belong here.

1019. (15) -čāk, in Chr. *mždwc'q* 'gospel', v. § 1128<sup>a</sup>.

1020. (16) -čan. Cf. Parth. -cn, *Mir. Man.* iii, s.v. *š'dcn*. Man. *p'šcn xw'tw T ii D 167 iv 5. 7, p'šcn xypδ'wnd T ii T 31*, 'the Reverend' (H.), from *p'š* 'respect'; *wx'scn* 'exhausted', v. *BBB* p. 83 on 688, possibly Parth. LW. [(*'zcn*) 'greedy' (?), H., *Tales* 480 n.g.]

1021. (17) -čanak ? Man. *γyšcnk* 'stingy', cf. § 382 fn. 2.

1022. (18) -čāne. Adjectives.

(a) *m'ny c'nyy* 'belonging to, coming from, Mani' (H.) *M 121 R 3*; *m'x c'nyy M 849*, 1, from *m'x* 'moon, month' (H.); *myδc'nyy* 'daily' (?) *T i D 51 (Par. 63)*; B. *δ'mc'n'k* 'worldly' *ST ii*, cf. B. *δ'mcyk* § 1014.

1023. (b) Ethnica. KB *twp'wte'ny* 'Tibetan', *ctβ'r twyr'kc'ny* 'from the Four-Twry', cf. H., *BSOS* ix 550 sqq.; B. *sryc'nch knδh* 'the town of Saray (Lo-yang)' *Intox. Sūtra* 29 (v. bibliography *ST ii* 546), Fem. of *\*saray-čāne*; S. *ywywrc'ny* 'Uyghur', *BBB* p. 91 on a 11.

1024. (19) -čanuk. Only Man. Chr. *z'rcnwq*, S. *z'rcn'()wk*, 'merciful', cf. B. *z'ry(h)* 'pitiful(ly)', and *z'rysy-* § 550.

1025. (20) -cynyy. Only in *fr'kcynyy* 'in the morning' *M 197 V 5*, cf. B. *βr'kyδ*, § 1109.

1026. (21) -(a)n.

(i) From OIr. verbal nouns in -na- and -ana-, derived from the root (cf. also -δn, -stn, § 122, and the verbal nouns in -nyk § 997).

(a) Nouns of action. *'ymbn* 'perversion' *M 814 i 8. M 664, 35*; *'βj(y)nyh<sup>1</sup>* Acc. 'increase' (H.) *M 617 ii 27*, B. *βz'ym Vim 61*, *βzym Vim 70* 'offspring, *Nachwuchs*', from B. *'βz'y-* § 187; *'nc'n* 'pause, quietude', cf. *'nc'y-* 'to stop'; *'ndysn* 'thought, meditation', v. § 549; *'naw'n* 'breaking (a commandment)' from *\*ham-χwāhana-*; *'ymbn*, B. *γnp'wnh* (§ 113) 'effort'; *frm'n* 'order'; *pcxwnyy* Obl. 'reproach', v. *BBB* p. 76 on 608; *prβyn* 'gift', v. ib. on 621; *ptškw'n* 'address', cf. *ptškwy-* § 567; B. *swδ swδn* 'in great hurry' *VJ 1092*, cf. H., *BSOS* viii 585 fn. 3; *xwβn-* 'dream', v. § 312.

1027. (b) Adjective. *yxwyn*, cf. *BBB* p. 105 on f 80, B. *yγw'y'n P 2, 301 (yχwayan)*, 'separated, dissected'.

1028. (c) Nouns of place (cf. Bailey, *BSOS* vi 593). *w'crn* 'bāzār', v. § 399; *pršprn* 'ground, floor' *M 178 i R 25*, from *\*pršpr-* 'to tread'.

1026<sup>1</sup> [v. Addenda.]

1029. (d) Noun of instrument (cf. Bailey, loc. cit.). *βwδβrn* 'scent-holder' *Sogd.* 52, 9, cf. Av. *zaθrō, barana-*.

1030. (e) Nouns of object. B. *prštrn* 'carpet' *VJ 847. 1128. 1367*, cf. *prštr-*, Past stem, 'to spread', ib. 847; *nywδn* 'dress' from *√gud*, cf. *BBB* p. 76 on 616.

1031. (ii) Adjectives or adverbs from nouns. *'ykwn* 'eternally', v. § 423; possibly B. *y'twknnyh* (*yātukanya*, if *n* is correct) 'sorcery' *P 3, 24*, abstract from *\*yātukana-* 'magic'; *yjn* 'worthy', v. § 155. (iii) Unexplained is the suffix in *npyyšn* 'grandson', v. § 943.

1032. (22) -ān.

(i) With Present stems.

(a) Nouns of action, from -āni (?), cf. § 997 fn. on *\*wyn'n* in S. *wyn'ncy(k)*. *γw'n* 'sin', from *γw-* 'to lack'; *jw'n* 'life', from *jw-* 'to live'; *\*krnw'n* 'skill' in B. *krnw'nc-* 'skilful' (v. § 1003), from *krnw-*, v. *BBB* p. 70 top, cf. S. *krnw'k (δ)stw* 'skilful hand' *T ii D 93 d V 3*; B. *šm'r'n* 'thinking effort (?)' *T iii (Sth.) 8<sup>1</sup>*; cf. also B. *prβr'nh* 'chariot' *VJ 132*.

1033. (b) Present Participles. B. *γn'β'nt βnk'm* 'they will be lamenting' *VJ 1412*, from *γn'β-* *VJ 358. 1111. 1120*; B. *r'y'n* 'weeping' *VJ 49<sup>b</sup>. 62<sup>b</sup>. 790 (Fem.)*, Intensive (H.) *r'yry'n VJ 399*, Pl. *r'y'nt (rty ZKh r'y'nt zyw'rt'nt* 'crying they turned back') *VJ 386*; Man. *wyδrfš'n* 'blazing' (H.) *M 715 c 3*, cf. § 439; cf. also *-βr'n* § 1133. [v. Addenda.]

1034. (ii) Adverbs and adjectives. B. *'m'()rδ'n* adv. 'together', v. *ST ii* p. 574<sup>a</sup>, cf. B. *'m'rδt* adj. Pl., *P 3, 106<sup>1</sup>* from *\*hām-arθa-*, cf. Pahl. *hamahl* (H.);<sup>2</sup> B. *rnk'()n* 'coloured' *SCE 142. 173*; *-zng'n* 'fold', in B. *znkznk'n* 'of all sorts' *ST ii*, Chr. *γrf znq'nt* Pl. 'many-fold' *B 49, 7 &c.*, v. §§ 164. 1327 sq.

1035. (iii) Substantive. B. *pwny'nh VJ 413. 1378*, *pwrny'nh T iii S 313, 17*, 'piousness, holiness', with suffix -ya Man. *pwrny'nyy M 134 i V 2, p)(wry'ny'ny M 143, 18*, B. *pwny'nyh*, idem, cf. Skt. *punya* (v. § 363), and its opposite *'kp'ny* § 1038.

1036. (23) -'ny.

(i) Adverbs, from -āniyā (?).

(a) From the Past stem. B. *pcyšt'ny* 'kneeling' *Dhy 181*, v. *BBB* p. 105 bottom, Benv., *Notes* iii 203; B. *npst'ny* 'lying' *SCE 141*.

1037. (b) Otherwise. B. *ryth 'nkm'ny* 'ouvertement, en face' *Dhy*

1032<sup>1</sup> Inserted between lines, apparently as a gloss: *L' šm'r'n L' ptyptyn'wk* 'no thinking effort, no isolation'.

1034<sup>1</sup> *c'wn wyspn'cw 'm'rδt mrtym'k prtr* 'better than all men together'.

1034<sup>2</sup> Abandoning the derivation proposed *BSOS* ix 825 fn. 1.

189 sq., S. 'nkm'ny *T M* 389 c R 5 (without *ryt*), Chr. *ryt* 'ngm'ny' 'παρηγοία' i 74, 2, v. Benv., loc. cit.

1038. (ii) Substantive. Man. 'kt'nyy, Chr. *q'tny* i 60; 6. 81, 14 (-ānī), B. 'krt'ny *VJ* 330. *SCE* 228, 'krt'nyh *VJ* 41<sup>b</sup>. 335. 367, 'sin', from *kṛta-* with an obscure suffix, cf. its opposite B. *pwny'nh* § 1035.

1039. (iii) Present Participle, from \*-ānaka-. B. *βrwz'n'k* 'flying' *SCE* 304.

1040. (iv) Adjectives from nouns designating persons, from \*-ānaka-. Fem. -'nc (cf. § 1271), v. also §§ 1043 sqq.

(a) *bw'tny frnyy* 'Buddha-rank' (cf. H., *Sogd.* 62, Bailey, *Zor. Probl.* 54 sq.) *M* 129 V 12 sq., B. *pw'tny Sogd.* 64, 13. *ST* ii, *pw't'n'k SCE* 75. *Vim* 105; Chr. *cxwd'ny w'zyt* 'crowds of Jews' i 45, 19, Man. *cxw[δ']nc dyyn* 'the Jewish religion' (H.) *M* 904 i 11, from Chr. *cxwd ST* i; *cyn'nckndyy* Obl. 'the Chinese town (Turfan)' *M* 1, 55, cf. Schaefer, *Iranica*, 46, Minorsky, *Hudūd*, 94. 271, from *cyn* 'Chinaman' (H.) *Anc. Lett.* ii 17, Pl. Obl. *cynty* ib. iii 20. 35; B. *δrywšk'n'k n'c* 'crowd of disciples' *Vim* 71 sq.; S. *muw'nch dynh* 'the Magian religion' *JRAS*, 1944, 138, 28, from \**muw-* 'a Magian', cf. NPers. *muwāne*, Horn, loc. cit. 177; B. *n'βc'n'y* 'local, national' from \**nāfē*, v. § 1003 fn. 1; Man. *nywšk'ny*, v. § 1643, from *niyōšāk* 'auditor'; S. *pr'mn'nch* 'Brahmanic' *JRAS*, 1944, 138, 22; B. *pursnk'n'k SCE* 156, *pursnk'n'y* ib. 160. 185, adj. from *pursnk* 'community of monks'; B. *sywdy'n'k np'yk* 'Sogdian literature' *Intox. Sūtra* 37, from \**sydyia-* 'a Sogdian', cf. *swydyk* § 977; S. *trs'k'ny ST* i 87, 24, *trs'k'n'k T M* 389 a R 3, from *trs'k* 'a Christian', § 990.

1041. (b) Corresponding to a substantive in -e from -aka-: *mrtxm'nyh krsn* 'human shape' *BBB* b 39 sq., from *mrtxmnyy* 'man', cf. *mrtxmyn* § 1054, v. also § 1044.

(v) -'ny in S. 'yšč'ny 'worthy', § 155, is merely the spelling with ' of the suffix -ane from -anaka-, v. § 1052.

1042. (24) -nyk(w), v. § 997.

(25) -ānik. Only in Man. *βy'nyk M* 135 ii 32. *M* 121, 6, Chr. *by'nyq* i 33, 11. 83, 5, B. *βy'n'yk VJ* 15, *βy'n'yk* ib. 92, 'divine', from *βy-*, cf. Parth. *bg'nyg* and *ymg'nyg*, v. H., *BSOS* viii 588 fn. 3.

1043. (26) -ānč.

(i) This ending, by origin the Feminine of -ānaka-, § 1040, is used for nouns indicating female persons, regardless of whether or not such a noun has a Masculine or an adjective in -āne beside itself.

(a) -ānč is added to the stem of the Masculine. B. *βynpt'nch*

'sorceress' *SCE* 250. 252, Masc. *βynptw SCE* 255. *Anc. Lett.* i 10, v. H., *BSOS* viii 583, cf. *nywš'qpt'nc*, below; *dym'βr'nc* 'electa' *Man. Lett.* i 18. 30, Pl. *dym'βr'št* § 260, Masc. *dym'βr* 'electus'; S. *nywšk'nch 'audiriz' T* ii D 93 m R 6, Pl. Man. *ny[w]š[k']štyy* § 260, Masc. *nywšk*, adj. *nywšk'ny* § 1040; *nywš'qpt'nc* 'chief *audiriz' M* 1, 127, 'pt'nc ib. 140, Masc. *ngwškpt* ib. 76. 112, cf. B. *βynpt'nch* above; B. *pr'mn'nch* 'Brāhmanī' *VJ* 1242. 1243, also adj., v. § 1040, Masc. B. *pr'mn*; B. *šmn'nch* 'nun' *SCE* 180. *VJ* 120, cf. Mongolian *šimnantsa*, F. W. K. Müller, *Uigurica*, i 47, Masc. B. *šmn-* (light stem) 'śramaṇa'; S. *z'k'nch*, Obl. *z'k'nc'y* 'girl' or 'princess' (H.), *T M* 389 a passim, Man. *z[k']nc Man. Lett.* i 26, Masc. Pl. B. *z'kt* 'children', § 399.

1044. (b) The -(a)ka- suffix of the Masculine does not appear before -'nc, cf. § 1041. B. *wp'sy ZY wp's'nch ST* ii 8, 6, 'wp's'k *ZY wp's'nch DN* 4, 'upāsakas and upāsikās', cf. Mongolian *ubasantsa*, Müller, loc. cit.; 'sp'skr'nc 'girl-servant' *Man. Lett.* i 30. 31, from a hypothetical 'kryy';<sup>1</sup> S. *zwyš'nch 'discipula'*<sup>2</sup> *BBB* p. 101 on e 22, Masc. *žuxšk-*, adj. B. *δrywšk'n'k* § 1040.

1045. (c) Directly from \**nōš* is formed S. *nwš'nch* N. pr. 'the ambrosial one' *Sogd.* 7, 17, cf. *nwšynny* § 1053, and B. *nwš'ykh* § 994.

1046. (d) *pn'nc* 'co-wife' from Av. *hapaθn(i)-* + -'nc, v. *Sogd.* 17 sq., perhaps under the influence of (*βyn-*, *nywš'q-*) -*pt'nc*, § 1043.

1047. (ii) -'nc is also added to names of places, to form both Feminine adjectives qualifying *kanθ* 'town' and personal names. No corresponding Masculine forms in -āne are attested. Cf. Khotanese -āna, -ānya, with names of places, Bailey, *BSOS* x 923.

(a) Adjectives. B. 'wy *ywm't'ncw kndyh* 'in the town of Khumdān (Hsi-an-fu)' *P* 2, 1233, haplology of \**ywm't'n'ncw*, cf. Gauthiot, *JA*, 1911, part ii, p. 657, Schaefer, *Iranica* 45 sq., Henning, *Trans. Glasgow Or. Soc.* viii 25 fn. 9; *Kabūdānjkaθ*, v. Schaefer, loc. cit.; *Gurgānj* (scil. *kanθ*), v. Schaefer, loc. cit.; Man. *prw'nc* (scil. *kanθ*) 'Aqsu' *M* 1, 77, cf. Minorsky, *Hudūd*, 482, H., *BSOS* ix 567 sq.

1048. (b) Female persons. *q'š'nc 'kachgarienne' M* 1, 146, Masc. S. *k'š'k 'kachgarien' Sogd.* 8, 10, from *Kāš*, v. H., *BSOS* ix 567.

(iii) As a Feminine ending, -'nc also occurs in the name of the 6th month, perhaps also in those of the 7th and 8th months, v. § 1275.

<sup>1044</sup> Actually 'man-servant' is 'sp'syh', § 965.

<sup>1044</sup> H. now suggests that *zwyš'nch* is a scribal error for *zwy'm'nch* 'hard-hearted', v. *JRAS*, 1944, 141 fn. 7.

1049-50. (27) -yān, from -ya- + āna-.

(i) Adjectives from nouns.

*Myhry'nd* Pl. 'Mihr's followers', v. H., *ZDMG* 90, 17 fn. 1; *mzny'n dyw M* 140 V 10 sq., cf. MPers. *mzn*, Av. *māzainya*, 'monster, giant', v. H., *Kaw.* 54; B. 'sp'dy'nt, Pl., 'soldiers' *P* 2, 194, from *sp'd* 'army'. [Possibly *mdy'n Sogd.* 39, 32. 36.]

1051. (ii) Adverbs. H. comparēs Pahl. *m'tyd'n* 'chiefly' (cf. *JRAS*, 1942, 241), standing for *mātiyān*, from \**māt* 'capital'.

(a) B. *ryzy'n* 'at will' *VJ* 1440, from *rēž* 'will'.

(b) B. *γrmy'n* (also Man., *T ii D* 66, 1, 22. out of context) 'by way of punishment' *VJ* 424. 947; *wn-* 'to punish' *P* 2, 804, *°krtwδ'r*-Trans. Pret. *VJ* 568. 627. 678. 732. 18°; *°krt-* 'to be punished' *VJ* 502. 62<sup>a</sup> (*γrmy'ny*). 942 sq.; *√gram*, cf. also Chr. *γrm'wy*,<sup>1</sup> and v. *BBB* p. 78 on 644. [However, the Chinese equivalent of *γrmy'n wn-* in *P* 2, 804, has been rendered by Demiéville as 'to abandon', v. *TSP* p. 186.]

(c) Adjectivized. Chr. *r'zy'nt w'xšt* 'mysterious words' *B* 49, 16 sq., from *r'z ST ii*, 'secret'.

1052. (28) -(y)nyy (-ēne, -əne).<sup>1</sup> Derives adjectives from nouns, chiefly from such as indicate substances (from \*-*ainaka-*, cf. NPers. -*ine*, Horn, loc. cit. 181). In other adjectives the suffix may sometimes go back to \*-(a)*naka-*, -*inaka-*, hence the spelling -*nyy*, which is sporadically also found with adjectives of substance, either as an analogical extension, or as a graphic shortening, cf. § 80. The Feminine, which ends in -*ync* (cf. § 1271), has sometimes been substantivized, v. § 1005. The material is here arranged acc. to the spelling. On the spelling -*ny* v. § 1041v.

1053. (i) -*nyy*.

(a) Added to the stem of the substantive. Man. *°pky(nyy)* possibly 'crystal' or 'of crystal' *T ii D* 79 d 3, from \**āpaka-*, cf. Oss. *avgä*, Bailey, *Zor. Probl.* 130, B. *°pky'nch* 'crystal', cf. § 1005; B. *°stkyn'y* 'of bone' *SCE* 169, from *°stk-*, cf. § 981; *δ'rwkync* Fem. 'consisting of plants', v. *BBB* p. 57 on 498; B. *γwδ'ynch* Fem. 'consisting of faeces' *P* 2, 962, cf. Av. *gūθa-* (H.); *mrcyny*, Fem. *mrcync*, 'deadly', from *mrc*; S. *nm'δk'ynch* Fem. 'salty', from *nm'δkh*, v. H., *Additions to Sogd.* 7, 20; *nwšyny* 'sweet' *M* 178 i V 20, from \**nōš*, cf. NPers. *nōšin*, v. S. *nwš'nch* § 1045; Chr. *rtyny*

<sup>1051</sup> *dbzy qy zprī wnty tnp'r pr γrm'wy dšw* 'hunger, which purifies the body with chastising hand (lit. with the hand of punishment)' (†) *B* 49, 28.

<sup>1052</sup> On the Present Participle ending -(y)nyy v. §§ 889 sqq.

Fem. 'jewel-' *ii* 5, 27, Man. *wysprtnyny* Pl. 'covered with all jewels', B. *°βt rtyn'kw VJ* 862, *°βt rtyn'ynch* Fem., ib. 18<sup>b</sup>. 345. &c., 'having seven jewels', from *rtn-* § 518; B. *snk'yn'k* 'of stone' *SCE* 237, from *sng*, cf. Man. *sngcyk* § 1014; Man. *syngtync* Fem., *T i* (Par. 9), from B. *synkt(škrδ'k)* *SCE* 321, 'jujube', cf. Pers. *sinjid* (H.); *yδyny* 'shaped' from *yδ-* 'shape' *BBB*; B. *zyrnyn'k(w)*, *°yn'y*, Fem. *°ynch*, 'golden', from *zyrn*.

1054. (b) The corresponding substantive is an \*-*aka-* stem. B. *°sprymyn'k* 'of flower': B. *°sprym'k* 'flower', v. *BBB* p. 72 on 573; *mrtxmync δ'm* Fem. 'human creatures' *M* 140 V 2, cf. *mrtxm'nyh* § 1041: *mrtxmny*; *n'ktyny* 'of silver': Chr. *n'qly i* 45, 12. 49, 1, B. *n'kr'kw VJ* 46. 12°, 'silver'.

1055. (c) The substantive has -*yk*. Man. *°spnyn(y)* *T ii D* 163 a 8, B. *°spn'yn'y* *SCE* 205, *°spn'ynch* Fem. *SCE* 181, 'of iron', Chr. *spnync* 'iron' *ii* 5, 13 (v. § 1005): Chr. *sfnyg*, v. § 977.

1056. (ii) -*nyy*.

(a) Added to the stem of the noun. Chr. *°rsqny* 'Ζηλωτής' *i* 33, 18, from Man. *°rsk* § 164; S. *c'cn'y* 'inhabitant of Čādē' *Sogd.* 8, 6; Man. *kyrnyny* 'worm-eaten' *Sogdica*, p. 34 on 24, from *kyrm-* (light stem); *rymnyny* 'impure' from *rym*; *wyjtryny* *M* 116 V 5, from Man. *wyjtry* *T i* (Par. 10),<sup>1</sup> meaning unknown. Cf. also B. *kysn'k* 'jungle', v. *Sogd.* 29 fn. 1, lit. 'consisting of bushes'?

1057. (b) The substantive is an \*-*aka-* stem. Man. *y'tny* 'made of flesh' *BBB* b 78 (end of line), from Man. Chr. *y'ty*, B. *y't'k* (v. *BBB* p. 57 bottom), but cf. B. *y't γw'r'k* 'meat-eater' *SCE* 297; cf. B. *y't'kmync* § 1103.

1058. (iii) -*yny* or -*nyy*. *°bjyr'ync* Fem. 'of diamond' *M* 178 i R 25, B. *βz'yryn'y* *DN* 20, *°yn'k* ib. 49 sq. *Dhy* 325: Man. *βj[yr]nyh* (H.) *T ii D* 66 c 11, B. *βz'yryn'k* *Dhy* 326, *°n'y* *ST ii* 545 fn. 8, from Skt. *vajra*; *j'rynyh* 'poisonous' *M* 840 c i 6: *j'rnyy* *BBB*, from *j'r*; B. *rwδynch* Fem., *SCE* 229: Man. *rwδnyt* Pl., *BSOS* viii 584, 'of copper', from Chr. *rwδ ii* 5, 12, B. *rwδ* *SCE* 238; *w'tyny* 'of wind' *M* 549 i 23, 'pneumatic' *Kaw.* K 14, cf. *BBB* p. 81 bottom: *w'tyny tmb'r* *T i D* 51.

1059. (29) -*nāk*. Adjectives. Cf. Horn, op. cit. 183 sq. *xwycn'k* 'ill' *Man. Lett.* i 25 = *xw'cn'k* *M* 760, 17, from *xwyc* 'pain', cf. *BBB* p. 83 on 699 = *xw'c* *M* 502 p 5. *T i D a* (Par. 31); Man. *°ndwxcn'k*, Chr. *°ntwxcn'q i* 72, 4 'sorrowful', from *°ndwxc* § 1004.

1060. (30) -*kyn*. Adjectives.

(a) B. *βyšykyn* 'therapeutic', v. § 949; B. *γ'mkyn* 'rich' *Intox.*

<sup>1056</sup> [v. Addenda.]

*Sūtra* 9. *Frg* ii\* 9, Man. *γmq[yn T ii D 139 i 14*;<sup>1</sup> Chr. *γmpnqyn* 'troublesome' *B 49, 5*, v. *BBB* p. 105 on f 79; Chr. *γnqyn*, B. *ynkyn* 'brave', from Man. B. *γn-* 'power, skill', cf. *ST* ii s.v., Benv., *Notes* i 31; Chr. *ny'zqyn* 'poor, destitute' i 75, 14, B. *ny'()* *zkyn VJ 49*. *SCE* passim, from Man. *ny'z* 'need' *T ii B V 4*. *M 280 R 7*; B. *pδ'yškyn* 'apparent' *Dhy 215*, cf. § 549, but the meaning of B. *pδ'yškyn* (from a verbal noun belonging to the Pres. stem) *SCE 500*, *pδ'škyn* (from the Past Part.) ib. 502, is 'sua sponte'; B. *r'βkyn* 'ill' *SCE 425*, Man. *n' jwq [r'f]qyn 'ty xw'cn[']q* 'unwell, sick, and ill' *T ii D 79 b 1 sq.*, from Man. *r'f* 'disease' passim, cf. B. *r'βk'w* § 1078; *wrnkyynd* Pl. 'faithful, believing' *BBB f 81*, from *wrn-* 'faith'; Man. *z'wrk'yn* 'strong' *T ii D 207, 5*, Chr. *z'wrgyn* i 32, 15, B. *okyn SCE 17*, Elative B. *z'wrkynst* § 1311, from *z'wr*. [v. Add.]

1061. (b) From \*-aka- stems. Chr. *nm'nyqyn* 'penitent', but Man. *nm'nkyn*, from *nm'nyy*, B. *nm'n'k*, cf. *BBB* p. 92 on b 25.

1062. (c) From \*-ākā- stems. Man. *šm'rykyn* 'thoughtful', from *šm'r*, cf. *x'nycyk* § 1017, but also *šm'r'k(yn)* (H.) *T ii D 66 b 32*.

1063-4. (31) -k'n (-a)kān and -k'ny (§ 1065), denote what has reference to a person or entity. Cf. Bailey, *BSOS* vii 74 sq. Man. *ptrk'n*, Chr. *ptrq'n*, 'inheritance, what has reference to the father'; Chr. *qysrq'n* 'denarius, what refers to Caesar' i 36, 4; Man. *nm'ck'n* 'homage, what has reference to reverence' *Kaw. V 14*, *nm[']cq'n M 133, 44*, S. *nm'ck'n T ii D 77 (A I) 10*, Chr. *nm'cq'n ii 6, 17* (v. H., *BSOS* x 102 fn. 4).

1065. (32) -q'ny (cf. § 1063). *šmnwq'ny*, Fem. *šmnkw'nc*, § 423, 'devilish', from *šmnw*; Chr. *rmq'ny* 'ἐθνικός' i 83, 10.

1066. (33) -(')nd. Chr. *cšnt*, B. *cš'nt*, 'drink', cf. § 993; B. *z'n'nt* 'attentive, aware of', v. § 550; Chr. *xw'rnt*, S. *γw'r'nt*, adj. 'right-hand', cf. Khot. *hvarandaa-*, Ormuri *xwarince*, v. § 222; on B. *γwš'nt* 'happy', and on \**tāwand* 'powerful', v. § 969; old Participle ending in B. *twnt* 'violent', v. *BBB* p. 78 on 636, from \**tuwant-*, v. Horn, *Np. Et.* 89.<sup>1</sup>

1067. (34) -yynd or -yyn. Man. *'tyyh ii βpšyy p'syynd w'stynd* 'they appointed two angels as watchers' *M 178 ii V 30 sq.* If *p'syynd* is Plural, the Singular may be either *p'syynd* or *p'syyn*.

1060<sup>1</sup> Chr. *γmy ii 3, 14*, cannot belong to *γmkyn* as suggested by Lentz. Acc. to H. the Syriac word translated by it could perhaps be restored as *mūm[āyā]* 'scelestus'; this would also fit B. *γmy Intox. Sūtra 10*.

1066<sup>1</sup> Chr. *murt'zwnt ii 4, 45*, is probably to be read *zwntyy*; as the lines 1. 3. 36, S. *murt'zwntyy T M 389 a R 28*, Man. *murt'jw'ndy M 140* passim. Cf. H., *Sogd.* pp. 42. 53.

### 1068. (35) -ande.

(i) Verbal adjectives, originally Present Participles in -ant-+aka-. Man. *βr'zndtyy T ii D 207, 27*, *βr'zntyy T i D (Par. 41)*, 'shining, glowing', cf. B. *βr'z-Dhy 212*; B. *βwδ'ntk* 'scented' *VJ 11*, Fem. Man. *βwδ'ndc M 178 i R 16*, B. *βwδ'ntch VJ 91. 1435*, Pl. Man. *βwδ'ndyt T ii D 139 i 13*, cf. *βwδ* 'scent'; B. *βy'yš'ntk* 'boiling' *SCE 236*, *βy'š'ntcy* Fem. Obl., ib. 235 (scribal error for *βy'yš-*?), from Av. *yaēš-+abi-*, cf. Yaghn. *ēš-* (Klimchitsky, *Zap.*, 1937, 22); B. *cš'ntk* 'thirsty' *Dhy 105*, cf. § 277, and, analogical to it, Chr. *wšntyy i 24, 6. 27, 8. 17*, Pl. S. *wš'nt'yt T i a i 8*, 'hungry', cf. § 210; Chr. *γwntyy* 'necessary' i 38, 5, from *γw-*; Man. *jwndty* 'living' *Sogd. 39, 27*, *jwndyy M 134 i V 4*, S. *zw'nty T ii T 13*, Pl. S. *zw'ntyt ST i 87, 21*, cf. also *murt'jw'ndy* § 1066 fn., from *jw-*; B. *k'm'nty* 'wishing' *DN 75*; B. *m'n'ntk* 'similar, resembling' *SCE 12*. *Dhy 37*; B. *m'r'nt'yt* Pl. 'complaining, lamenting' or sim., *VJ 191*; Man. *myn'ndyy* 'staying, remaining', v. *BBB* p. 129; B. *n'z'ntk* 'turning round', from Man. *n'j-*, v. *BBB* p. 94 on b 60, cf. *n'šnyh* § 266; Man. *t'wndyy* 'powerful' § 969, cf. Man. B. *t'w M 135 ii 12*. *ST ii 7, 15*. *Frg iii 27*; Man. *wšndyy* 'joyful' *M 178 i V 29*, &c., Pl. *wšndyt T iii 282, 13*, B. *γwš'ntk* (not to be confused with Man. *xwšndyy*, cf. § 416) *P 2, 75*, from *wyš-* 'to rejoice' § 1212, cf. B. *γwš'nt*, § 1066; Man. *wyn'ndyy T ii D 62, 21*, B. *wyn'nty SCE 550. 560*, *wyn'ntk P 2, 840*, 'visible, actual, present (opposite B. *γrt'k* 'past'), real, direct', from *wyn-* 'to see'; *[z]n'ndyh . . . wm'ind* 'had brought forth' *M 110 i V 6*.

(ii) On *yjndyy* 'worthy' v. § 290.

1069. (36) -t, Elative suffix, v. § 1309.

(37) -t(') from -tā-. Originally abstract suffix, used as a Plural ending (cf. §§ 1184. 1217), v. Tedesco, *ZII* iv 151.

1070. (38) -ty'. From the preceding+suffix -y' (§ 1111). Abstracts. Man. *(')βj'xwty'* 'misery, suffering', v. § 391; *qrš'n'wty'* 'beauty' from *krš'n'w* 'beautiful' (§ 1076);<sup>1</sup> Man. *ptš'dty'* 'joy', v. *X ptš'dy* § 269; B. *šyrywzty'* *Intox. Sūtra 38*, *šyrywztyh Sogd. 61, 27* (v. *Additions*), 'friendship', cf. *šyrywzy* (from \*-aka-) § 57, and B. *šyrywz'yt* § 1073; Man. *wtyy' M 178 i V 21*, *wty' M 617 ii 30*, B. *wtyh SCE 396* 'trouble, difficulties', from \**watt-* from \**watātā-* (H.).<sup>2</sup>

1071. (39) -tyy from -ata- (cf. Av. *yazata-*)+-ka-. Man. *'spstyy* 'zealous', abstract *'spstky'* § 338, from *ham-spasa-*.

1072. (40) -āt (uncertain), seems to form abstracts. B. *šyrsy'tuh* *X wyšty't*.

1070<sup>1</sup> Here, however, the *t* may belong to a stem in -āwat-, cf. § 1079.

1070<sup>2</sup> *pš'mty' kty Sogd. 21, 22*, is surprising, also, because, as far as I can see, *kt-* is not attested in Man. Perhaps scribal error for *pš'mty' kty*?

'happiness', v. § 550. Not clear is B. *γwp't* 'kind' (?) VJ 884 (v. § 1551), from *xwp* 'good, nice, skilful'?

1073. (41) -yt. Abstracts. S. *srđm'nyl(w)* 'happiness' *Anc. Lett.*, from B. *srđm'n* 'happy' VJ 113: 1044; B. *šyrywz'yt* 'friendship' [sic] P 2, 74, cf. B. *šyrywz'yt* § 1070.

1074. (42) -tāt. Abstracts. S. *δrw'twh* 'health' *Anc. Lett.*; Man. Chr. *fryt't*, B. *pryt't* SCE 306, 'love'; B. *nmt'(?)t* 'abuse', cf. ST ii s.v. *nmy'q*.

1074 a. (42 a) B. -t'ny(h). Abstracts. Recognized by H. 'sp'ry't'ny 'cleverness' (H.) P 2, 1099; *γp'kt'nyh* 'wisdom' P 2, 690; *γwr't'nyh* 'haughtiness' SCE 72, from a light stem \**γwr-*, cf. Chr. *γwry'q* (v. BBB p. 63 on 521). [*< garu-*, cf. Pš *γara* EVP 27.]

1075. (43) -āu. (Cf. HMV p. 230 n. 8)

(a) Verbal abstracts. \**wēnāu* 'vision', attested through *wyn'wcyk* § 1014, B. *wyn'wcy* § 1006, cf. Pahl. *vēnāš*, Bailey, BSOS vii 82.

1076. (b) Adjectives (-āu). From the Nom. Sg. Masc. of -āwan-stems, cf. Bailey, loc. cit. 76. Cf. Oss. -*au*, Hübschmann, ZDMG 41, 325 sq., Miller, *Gdr. Ir. Phil.* i, Anh. 92 sq. H. compares Khwār. -āw- in *turkāwik* 'Turkish (language)'.<sup>1</sup> Cf. also, with further enlargements, -āuč (§ 1080), -āwe (§§ 1081 sqq.), -āuk (§ 1077). 'rt'w 'electus', from Av. *ašavan-*; Man. B. *kršn'w* 'beautiful' from *k(r)šn* 'beauty', *kršn'w* M 760, 7 (end of line); S. *sywδy'w* zβ'k 'the Sogdian language' *Sogd.* 61, 25, adverbial Man. *s]wyδy'w* M 169 V hl., *swy]δδy'w* (H.) M 107 i 37, S. *s(wyδy)w* Kaw. H 11, *swyδ'yw* ib. 14, 'no-cognition', *Sogdice*, cf. S. *swyδyk* § 977, *sywδy'n'k* § 1040.

1077. (44) -āuk. Chr. *cn'wq* 'thirsty', v. § 386.

1078. (45) -kāu. B. *r'βk'w* 'patient, ill' SCE. P 2, 32, Man. *r'fk[w]* M 502 o 6, from *r'f* 'disease', cf. B. *r'βkyn* § 1060. [v. Add.]

1079. (46) -āut from -āwat-. B. *cyn''wt* VJ 686, *cyn'wty* ib. 740, 'plein d'attente', cf. *cyn'kh* 'attente' ib. 31<sup>e</sup>. 14<sup>e</sup>. 511. 579.<sup>1</sup> Ambiguous is S. 'pzn'wtyh 'acquaintance' T M 389 a V 3, abstract of \**pzn'wt* or \**pzn'w*. Cf. also *qršn'wty* § 1070 fn. 1.

1080. (47) -āuč, cf. § 131. From -āutya- (cf. §§ 1070. 1075. 1079) ? Abstracts. H. compares Khwār. *xwāh'w* 'permission' from *xwāh-* 'to wish'. *δšt'w*, *δyšt'w* 'poverty', from \**duštawāuč* (H.); *jyšt'w* and *jyšt'w* 'hatred', cf. BBB p. 77 on 633, and above, § 451; B. *ptpt'yn'cw* Obl. 'refractoriness' or 'isolation', v. § 420, cf. B. *ptpt'yn'w'k* § 1082.

1076<sup>1</sup> [v. Addenda.]

1079<sup>1</sup> [Cf. Av. *uštānō.čīnahyā-*.]

1081. (48) -āwe, from -āw- + -aka-. H. compares Khwār. *musur-mānāwak* 'Islam', *juštāwak* 'married state', cf. Pers. *jušt* 'pair', also *z'dk'wy* 'state of being a child', *δym'wy* *δ'm'wy* 'religious and worldly affairs'.<sup>1</sup> In Sogdian this suffix derives abstracts from adjectives.

1082. (a) B. 'ny'z'nk'w'k 'difference' from Chr. *ny'zng*, § 85 fn.; Man. 'xšnk'wyh 'splendour, magnificence' *Sogd.* 17, 23, from (?) *xšnk-* 'magnificent', v. § 511; Man. 'yjn'wyy 'worthiness' from 'yjn', v. § 290; *fry'wyyh* 'love' JRAS, 1944, 140, fn. 2, B. *pry'w'k*, from *fry-*; Chr. *γrm'wy* 'punishment', v. § 1051 fn.; Man. *j'm'wyy* 'refinement'<sup>1</sup> from *j'm*, § 285; B. *kwzpw'y* 'zeal, energy', from Man. *kwjp-* 'zealous', v. BBB p. 86 on 727; Chr. *n'mr'wy* 'humility' B 49, 19, from Man. *nmr-* (§ 512); B. *nywβ'w'k* 'excellence' from *nywβ-*, § 445; B. *ptpt'yn'w'k* 'isolation' T ii 8, *pw'o* 'without exception, completely' ib. 20, *ptpt'yn'w'k* SCE 277, Chin. 'violence', from B. *ptpt'yn*, v. § 1140, cf. B. *ptpt'yn'cw* § 1080; Man. *sk'wyh* 'top, height' M 178 i R 20, from 'sk-' 'high'; \**spyn'wyy* 'sin', in the Abl. *spyn'w* BBB f 8, cf. § 1255; B. *sym'w'k* 'terror', from B. *symh*, v. ST ii s.v., from Av. *sima-*;<sup>2</sup> B. *wrcy'w'k* 'appeasement' ST ii 9, 5, from *wrcy* 'appeased', v. BBB p. 67 top; S. *yγrt'w'k* 'extension, breadth' T M 389 a V 12, from *yγrt-*, v. § 518.

On *δβ'nzq'wyy* v. § 999.

1083. (b) The corresponding adjective is an -aka- stem. Man. *wy(r)m(n)w(y)* 'tranquillity' *Sogd.* 50, 5, B. *wyrmn'w'k*, from *wyrmny* 'quiet', v. § 893; B. *y'γ'w'k* 'bravery' Vim 97, from Man. *y'xyy* 'brave', v. § 396.

1084. (49) -wn. Cf. also § 1088.

(i) -wan. Verbal abstracts. Man. 'frywn, Man. Chr. 'frywn (cf. § 5 fn.), B. 'prywn VJ 1198, 'prayer, blessing', from Av. *āfrivana-*, Man. *nfrywn* 'curse' M 118 ii V 12 (v. § 676), Man. *sfrywn* 'creation', Chr. *sfrywnt* ii 3, 13, S. *šfryw'nty* ST i 86, 4, Pl. 'creatures', cf. '(?)fryn- 'to bless', *sfryn-* 'to create', § 579; S. 'pšt'w'nk T M 389 a V 40, Man. 'pšt'w'n[ M 410, 43 'order', from *štā* (H.),<sup>1</sup> Man. 'xš'wn 'ruling power, realm', from OIr. *xšā(y)-*, cf. BBB p. 95 sq.; Chr. *xšywn* ii 3, 52 'lament' (H.), B. 'γš'ywn VJ 184. 276. &c., S. 'γš'ywn T ii T 9, cf. Yidgha *xšī-* 'to weep', v. Morgenstierne, IIFL ii 269, NPers. *šēvan*, v. also Chr. *prxšy'qc* § 1002.

1085. (ii) -on. 'jwn (1) 'existence, life, birth', (2) 'son', from 'jy- 'to be born'. Origin of the suffix not clear. Cf. § 66.

1081<sup>1</sup> [Cf. also Orm. *xwāžāwī* 'sweetness'.]

1082<sup>1</sup> *j'm'wyy* 'ty pcm'k T i a (Par. 53).

1082<sup>2</sup> [Cf. Benv., TSP p. 180.]

1084<sup>1</sup> [v. BSOAS xi 725.]

## 1086. (50) -wnyy.

(i) -wane, from -wana- (§ 1084) + -ka-. Nomen agentis. *xšywnyy* 'king', from *xšy-* 'to rule' *Man. Lett.* ii 16, B. *'γšy-* VJ 1094. On Chr. *xšwny* v. § 132.

1087. (ii) -ūne. Abstracts from nouns and adjectives. Konow, *Saka Studies*, 62, compares Khot. -auña. [cf. Bailey, *Trans. Phil. Soc.* 1945, 29 sq.]

(a) In BBB p. 68 on 546, Chr. *b'wwny* 'perfection', Man. *βxtwnyy* 'schism', B. *γδ'wny* 'theft', and Man. *qmbwnyḥ*<sup>1</sup> 'ἐλάττωσις', are mentioned. Cf. also Man. *fīrwnyy*, abstract of *fītr* 'more', v. § 473; B. *mst'wny* 'drunkenness', v. BBB p. 74 on 591; Man. *t'ywnyy* 'theft', BBB p. 100 on e 6; S. *wrcy'wn'k* 'security' KB 21, 4, from *wrcy*', cf. § 1082 on B. *wrcy'w'k*.

1088. (b) With B. *wrc'wny* Acc. 'magic' *Dhy* 310, from Av. *varāčah-*, one cannot be sure whether the Nom. was not *\*wrc'wn*, in view of Man. *wrcwnkrc* Fem. 'miraculous' *M* 178 ii R 13, and Chr. *wrc wny* 'miracle' i 21, 18 (-ya abstract of *\*wrcwn*).

1089. (c) Corresponding to an *\*-aka-* adjective. *ckštwnyy* 'ugliness' *M* 600, 16, from B. *ckšt'k* SCE 69, *ckšt'y* ib. 10, Pl. *ckštyt* (H.) *Man. Lett.* ii 7. 8, -ya abstract *ck'(š)t(k)[y]* (H.) *M* 900, 7, cf. § 286; v. also *qmbwnyḥ* § 1087 fn.

1090. (iii) Not clear is the suffix of S. *βrpšwny* 'womb' *ST* i 86, 13, cf. BBB p. 73.

1091. (51) -āwand. Denominative adjectives and substantives. Chr. *pwrc'wn't* Pl. 'debtors' i 42, 6, from *pwrc*, § 487; B. *zrm'w'nt* Pl. 'distressed' VJ 213, from *zrm*, § 1093; *xypδ'wnd* 'owner, lord, master, mister', from *xypδ* 'own', cf. § 231.

1092. (52) -wande or -unde (§ 222), from -wantaka-. *frnxwndyy* 'lucky' from Av. *x'arənahvant-*, *wrcxwndgy* 'miraculosity' from Av. *varāčahvant-*, cf. § 939; B. *nw* 100 *βs'n'wncḥ z'yh* 'a country 900 parasangs away' VJ 717, Fem. of *\*fsānḥunde* < *\*frasānḥawantaka-* (cf. § 435).

## 1093. (53) -m.

(i) Primary suffix, from -ma- or -man-. *sn'm* 'bath', Chr. 'baptism', from *sn'y-* 'to wash', cf. BBB p. 61 on 515; *zrm* 'distress' *M* 617 ii 30, B. *zrmḥ* VJ 399, Man. *zrm* 'harm', v. BBB p. 53 on 483, cf. B. *'pw* *zr* 'harmless' P 2, 29.

1094. (ii) Of unclear origin are *βnd'm* 'punishment', BBB p. 79 top, cf. Kharoṣṭhi *avimdhama*, Bailey, BSOS ix 230, Chr. *xwznm*, *gōsm*,

1087<sup>1</sup> Derived from *kmbyy* 'less, short of' (§ 1302), as if this were an *\*-aka-* stem, cf. §§ 493 fn. 1089.

'care, solicitude', v. § 234, B. *sryβtm* VJ 1493, *sryβt'm* *Dhu* 272. P 3, 118, *sryβt'm* *Vim* 20, 'pain, suffering'.

1095. (iii) Ordinals, from -ma-. B. only, cf. -myk § 1104.

(a) Heavy: *ctβrm* 'fourth' *ST* ii 10, 9. 50; *pnem* 'fifth' P 2, 1094. 1120.

1096. (b) Light: *wyšmy* '6th' *T* *M* 422, 4, *wywsūmy* P 2, 1094; *βtmy* '7th' P 2, 330; *štmy* '8th' VJ 885. *Dhu* 231. 254. 264. P 2, 331; *nwm'y* '9th' P 2, 332; *δsmy* '10th' *Dhu* 231. 264. 269.

1097. (54) -me, from -maka-. B. *δzrm'k* SCE, *δzrm'y* VJ 233. *Vim* 13, 'anger',<sup>1</sup> cf. B. *δzrm'βr'k* 'angry' VJ 225. SCE 287 (on B. *δzrm'* v. § 1255); *sprymy* 'flower', v. BBB p. 72 on 573, cf. § 941; B. *šβrm'y* 'pudenda', cf. § 441.

1098. (55) -m, from -mākā-. Man. *nwyδm* 'invitation' from B. *nwyδ-* 'to invite', v. § 676; *jym* 'lie' from *drug-*, v. § 285, cf. B. *zym's'k* § 1112.

1099. (56) -āme, from -āmaka-, cf. Nos. 57. 58. Verbal abstract: B. *šw'm'k*, *šw'm'y*, 'going' *ST* ii 7.

1100. (57) -āmande. Verbal abstracts and Infinitives from the Present stem, cf. Khot. -āmātā Fem., Konow, *Saka Studies*, 43, Bailey, BSOS ix 230.

(a) Chr. *'γz'mntyy* 'resurrection', from *'γz-* 'to rise', v. § 55; Man. *'nwyj'mndy* 'collecting', cf. § 542; *'nz'n'mndyyḥ* 'confession' *M* 769, 11, S. *'nz'n'm'nt[y]* *Sogd.* 65, 28, cf. § 657; Chr. *'šty'mntyy* 'ἀνάδειξις' i 32, 17, cf. §§ 567 fn. 657; *'wyz'mndty* 'descending', v. § 55; *'wšt'mntyy* 'existence', v. § 557; *'ys'mndy* 'arrival' *Sogd.* 29, 12; Man. *βyr'mndyyḥ* 'success' *T* ii D 66 c 1, from *βyr-* 'to obtain'; *m'nyst'n zp'rt' d'r'mndyy* 'keeping the college clean' *M* 107 ii 5 sq.; B. *wδ nyδ'm'nty* 'bed to sit on' *DN* 50, from *nyδ-*, cf. § 545; S. *nyzy'm'nt'k* 'deliverance', v. § 568; Man. *prwyj'mndy* 'alimentation', cf. § 548, b; (p) *syr'mndyy* 'cooling' *Sogd.* 21, 12; Man. *pšpr'mndyy* 'fixing' *T* ii D 207, 25, from S. *pšpr-* *\*-* 'to fix, compose, level' *T* ii D 77 (A 1) 17. 18, Impf. *pšpr* § 616; Man. *ptβs'mntyy* 'reading', v. § 52; *ptz'n'mndyyḥ* 'knowledge, cognition' *Sogd.* 31, 8; *skw'mndyy* 'staying' *Man. Lett.* ii 9; *šw'mndyy* 'going'; *tys'mndyyḥ* 'entering'; Chr. *wxš'mntyy* 'deliverance' i 30, 15, from Chr. *wxš-*, cf. § 343; Man. *wδyr'mndyyḥ* 'adjustment', cf. § 219; *qršn'w wyn'mndyyḥ* 'beautiful to look at' *M* 178 i R 12; Chr. *wyt'p'mntyy* 'ἀπαρολή' i 31, 11 sq., cf. § 216; *x[w]j'mndtyy* 'wishing' *M* 769, 14; Chr. *z'rys'y'mntyy* 'mercy', v. § 550 fn. 2; Chr. *zn'mntyy* 'bringing forth' i 73, 7, cf. § 578.

1097<sup>1</sup> [*<* Av. *\*ašma-ka-*, v. *Trans. Phil. Soc.* 1945, 138 n.1.]

n'mnty

1101. (b) Man. *qrwn'mndyh* 'acting, effecting' *Sogd.* 36, 16, would seem to indicate that *qrwn* 'making, effect, executing'<sup>1</sup> was used as a Present stem. Cf. H., *ad locum*.

1102. (58) -āmč, from \*-āmantya- (cf. -āmande No. 57) with loss of *n* acc. to § 334? Same function as Nos. 56. 57. 'skw'mc' 'staying' *M* 125, 11. *M* 776, 2; Chr. šw'mc 'going' *B* 49, 25; ptjy'mc 'quarrel' from B. \*ptzy- \*'to dispute', v. § 200.

1103. (59) -mync or -myc. The function of this suffix is that of a hyphen. It can be added to -aka- stems and -ya abstracts. -my(n)c adjectives are used indifferently with masculine and feminine nouns, v. H., *BBB* p. 92 top. The Plural is Chr. -myšt, v. § 260. For the loss of *n* cf. § 334. Man. 'βrξsymync Fem. ('šm'r'), B. 'βrys'kmync (m'n), 'dissolute', v. *BBB* p. 71 on 568; 'zmyc Fem. ('šm'r') 'greedy'; Man. 'xš'wnmync wr' Fem. 'increase of power' *T i D a* (Par. 31); 'xšywnmync 'royal' *M* 133, 91 (Fem.). 105 (*sndws*, v. *Sogd.* p. 17 on 7<sup>a</sup>, 8<sup>a</sup>); B. 'yncmync *SCE* 355 (Fem. γ'ywh). 560 ('z'wn), 'of a woman'; B. β'rp'y'mync *tmyh* *P* 2, 962 = β'rp'k *tmyh* *SCE* 239 'in the hell of excrement'; Man. βymyc 'of God' *T i D*; Man. δymync *T ii* *T* 22, 20 (γrβ'ky). *T ii* *T* 31 (*srđng*), δymync *M* 617 ii 27 ('βj(y)nyh, cf. § 1026), 'of the religion, of the Church'; S. δymync *pkwyr* 'fear of the demons' *T M* 389 a V 26; xw jw'nmyc *ptβnd* 'life-line' *Kaw.* K 13; jwky'mync 'safe, sound' *M* 172 V 6 ('jwnd); B. nwšmync *Vim* 94 (δrm'yk) 'immortal', cf. B. nwš'ykh § 994, S. nwš'nch § 1045; B. pdk-mayncw 'legal' *Dhu* 242; S. pty'mbrymync 'apostolic' *ST i* 87, 24 ('ncmn); Man. xw rw'nmyc *frtry* 'the spiritual welfare' *T ii* *D* 117, 4; rwrtymync 'shameless, insolent' ('šm'r'), v. *BBB* p. 92 on b 10; Chr. p'rymync 'dark' ii 2, 21 (*fn's*); Man. tmb'rmync 'of the body' *T ii* *D* 207, 16 (*ptšđty*), Pl. Chr. tmp'r *myšt* *B* 49, 18 (*rqt*); Chr. zprt' w't mync 'of the Holy Ghost' ii 3, 35 (*y'n*); B. y'p'kmync γr- 'mountain of flesh' *SCE* 252. 376, cf. Man. y'tny § 1057. [Chr. tyw'q mync 'having a child', v. *JRAS*, 1946, 180 on 95, cf. [t]yw'qcyk § 1014.]

1104. (60) -myk. Ordinals from 4 onwards, v. §§ 1331 sq. Cf. Baluči -umī, Geiger, *Gdr. Ir. Phil.* i<sup>2</sup> 237 (§ 5, 4), Woss. -āimag, Hübschmann, *ZDMG* 41, 325, from -ma-yā-ka-. On -m in ordinals v. § 1095 sq.

1105. (61) -rmyk. \*βwr't'rmynk, \*βwyt'rmynk, 'patient', v. § 469; p'tsynd'rmykt Pl. 'agreeable, acceptable, pleasant' *M* 617 ii 9 (v. § 1243), B. p'ts'n'rmyk *P* 6, 34, p'tsynt'rmyk *P* 7, 134.

1106. (62) B. -yy. tm'yy 'infernal' *SCE* 261; acc. to Benv.,

1101<sup>1</sup> Man. Chr. *qrwn* *M* 136 R hl. *ST i* 63, 14. 68, 22, Man. *krw(n)* *M* 670, 15, B. *kr'wny* *P* 2, 347. [Cf. also Bailey, *Trans. Phil. Soc.* 1946, 206.]

*Grammaire*, 95, also \*δ'm'yγ in δ'm'yγtyh 'mydry' *VJ* 1205 sq. 'dieu des créatures' (?); on B. 'st'yγ 'upright' v. H., *BSOS* x 95.

1107. (63) -wx (?). Man. r'mr'twxβyyγ 'peace-dispensing god', v. *BBB*, Gloss.

1108. (64) B. -γ (?). γwδk'r't'γw st'yγ sr'k 'orphelins et solitaires' *SCE* 27. Quite obscure. [v. Addenda.]

1109. (65) -yδ (-īθ/-ēθ). Adverbs. (For pronominal forms with this suffix v. §§ 1402, 7. 1501.) B. 'nywncyδ 'thus, so, such', cf. Man. 'nywn &c., § 1113, and γwnc 'colour' § 1004; B. 'ywywncyδ 'just so, just as' *VJ* 39. 198. 1447. *Vim* 32. *Dhu* 26. 32. *ST ii*; B. 'ywnzkyδ *Dhy* 157 'thus' (Weller), *ST ii*, cf. B. 'yw znk' 'such' *SCE*; B. β'r'kyδ 'soon' *P* 2, 582, from fr'k 'early, morning', cf. Man. fr'kcynyy, § 1025; Man. c'fryδδ 'as many as', v. § 1592; mδyδ 'huc' *M* 498 b 1, cf. mδy 'hic' § 136; B. tδ'yδ 'illuc' *VJ* 1398; w'fryδδ 'so, so many', v. § 1592; w'fyδδ id., v. § 1594; wδyδ 'there' *Sogd.* 50, 7 and passim, cf. Man. wδy id., § 136; Man. ywnyδδ, Chr. ywnyt ii 5, 26, B. ywn(?)yδ 'at once', cf. Chr. (*ST i*) ywny id., Man. xyδ ywn 'instantly, on the spot' *M* 144 V 5, from Av. yaona- 'place, spot', cf. Skt. yoni (H.).<sup>1</sup> [cf. Addenda.]

1110. (66) -yāk, from \*-yākā-. Nominal abstracts, from light stems only. Cf. -y' § 1111. 'spty'q, 'spty'k 'completeness'; Man. 'spurny'k, Chr. spwny'q, 'completion', v. § 513; 'xy'k 'judgement', *xy'k* *M* 135 i 5, cf. H., *Additions to Sogdica*, 53, v. xlw 'judge' § 1190; βy'y'k 'divinity'; Chr. γwry'q 'haughtiness', cf. § 1074 a; Man. kwjpy'k 'energy, zeal', v. § 510; Man. nmry'q 'submissiveness', v. § 512; nmsy'k, nmy'k, 'contempt', v. § 828 fn.; ršty'q 'truth', § 517; rwxšny'k 'light, splendour'; šxy'q 'hardship', v. *BBB* p. 103 on f 16. *Sogd.* p. 20 on 21; tryty'q 'depression, distress' *Sogd.* 48, 3 (cf. the light-stem comparative t'rytryh § 1284; on tryty' v. § 948); xwcy'q 'niceness' *M* 133, 84, cf. § 504; (j)yryty'k 'extension, diffusion', v. § 518; Chr. zpry'q 'reverence' i 45, 9; Chr. žwyy'q 'severity' § 410. Cf. also the end of the footn. on § 1111, and šyr'k § 198.

1111. (67) -yā. Nominal abstracts from heavy stems. Originally the same suffix as No. 66, therefore often spelled -y'kh in S. writing.<sup>1</sup> βycy'h 'medicine' *BBB*, from βyc 'physician' *M* 137 R 2. *M* 655, 12;

1109<sup>1</sup> Chr. pr . . . wsyd ii 5, 45, means, acc. to H., 'on the instigation of', cf. B. wsyδ 'instigation' *P* 7, 102, S. wsy'yδ'nt 3 Pl. Impf. 'to encourage' *Rustam* 10, cf. Benv., *Notes iii* 227.

1111<sup>1</sup> Cf. 'stny'kh 'constancy', against 'stnyh, v. § 969; 'rt'wy'kh 'community of the electi' *T M* 389 a V 23; γwry'ty'kh 'haughtiness', *Vim* 162 sq.; γwt'wy'kh 'kingship' *VJ* 981. 1482; δp'yry'kh 'writing' *T M* 389 a V 1; mntyrβ'ky'kh 'ignorance' *X* 1 ii R 22; n'ywš'ky'kh 'community of the auditors' *T M* 389 a V 23; p'f'yš'wn'y'k'kh [sic] 'ruling power' *X* 1 ii V 20; py'ty'kh 'ornament' *Dhy* 91. 256. *Vim* 86, against py'ty' *Dhy* 182. 296, py'tyh *DN* 41. 47. 70;



*špyry'h* 'writing'; *'rt'wy*, *šynl'ry* 'state of being an *'rt'w*, a *šynd'r*'; *frlry* 'furtherance', v. § 437; *mzyxy* 'greatness'; *p'ryzy* 'excellence' *M* 178 i R 30, from *p'ryz M* 264 A 30; and many more. Added to *-yāk* abstracts (only Chr.): *byy'qy* 'divinity' ii 3, 16; *rwšny'qy* 'light' ii 3, 72; *nyy'qy*, probably 'in a true manner' (Syr. *šryr'yt* having been misplaced (H.)) ii 1, 31.

On the *-y* abstracts of *-aka-* stems, v. § 985. On *uty* v. § 1070. On *'šy*, *'kty*, &c., v. § 948. On the Oblique in *-y'y* v. §§ 1262. 1266.

1112. (68) *-se*, from *-saka-* (?). B. *zym's'k Dhu* 205, *šym's'k SCE* 247, Chr. *žym syt Pl.*, ii 6, 22, 'liar'. [v. Addenda.]

(69) *-(')st*. Relative suffix, v. § 1309.

1113. (70) *-yōne*. Adjectives meaning 'in the manner of, similar to, -like', cf. NPers. *-yūn*, *čigūne*, Horn, op. cit., 192. Originally *-akā-* bahuvrīhis with OIr. *gaona-* 'colour', cf. Man. *zrywnc Fem.*, *M* 137 R 12. *M* 1, 151, B. *zrywnch VJ* 960, Man. *zrywnyyt Pl.* *M* 178 i R 31, 'green', and B. *zrywn* 'vegetable' *SCE* 165, from Av. *zairi. gaona(ka-)*, B. *wšywn β'mk* 'rose-coloured' *Dhy* 145 (cf. Benv., *Notes* ii 226). Cf. also B. *ywn ywn* 'of all sorts' *VJ* 988. 1183, Man. *'nywn* 'similarly', *BBB* p. 104 on f 62, from *ham-gaona-*, *puw 'ny(w)[n T* ii D 66 c 'incomparable', *βy'n 'nywn* 'king-like', § 1189, B. *'nywnyš* § 1109, *mywn* 'all, altogether' from *hama-gaona-*, *ywn* 'colour' § 1004.

1114. (a) B. *'nywn'k* 'so, similar' *Vajr* 25 sq.; B. *c'ywn'k* 'qualis?', v. § 1542; B. *nmyny* 'abused', Chr. *nmynyqy* 'abuse', v. *ST* ii s.v., and cf. Pers. *namūne*, H., *BSOS* x 102; Chr. *pcxwd ywny* 'abominable' i 45, 17, cf. *BBB* p. 76 on 608, Man. *pcxwdywnystr* comparative, § 1306, from Man. *pcxwd T* ii D 167 ii 7 (no context); B. *pry'βywn'k* 'lovely', v. § 202 fn.; B. *pwšywn'kt Pl.* 'cat-like', v. *BBB* p. 100 on e 6; B. *rwzywn'y* 'suitable, gratifying' *Dhy* 215, v. Lentz, *ST* ii 604; B. *w'ywn'k* 'such, so' § 1584, from *\*awa-gaona-ka-*; B. *wyspywn'y* 'of all sorts'; B. *wzpywn'kw*, *wyzpywn'k* 'terrifying', cf. § 212 fn. 2. [v. Addenda.]

1115. (b) Open compound: B. *ykšy ywn'y* 'similar to *ayakš*.' *VJ* 1043.

(c) Adverbial: Chr. *yrb'q ywny* 'wisely' i 43, 15.

(71) *-zng'n* 'fold', v. § 1034. Cf. B. *ywzwnkyš* § 1109.

1116. (72) *-pār*. Adjectives and adverbs, from adverbs of place, cf. Av. *dūraēpāra-*. Man. *xw w'wšp'r* [ *'ékēivos* *T* ii D 116, 11, *z'ren'wky'kh* 'mercy' *T M* 389 a R. 1. This spelling is also found in *ywšty'kh* 'praise' *T M* 389 a V 2. 28 (cf. § 948), and even in *kr'ygy'kh* 'Ecclesia' ib. 37, Cf. the S. spellings *pr'kh* beside *pr* (Khot. *palā*), v. § 1269, *wyn'kh*, *k'yš'kh*, v. § 971. Genuine *-yāk* is represented by *pwty'k(h)* 'Buddhaship' *M* 338, &c., *myšy'kh* 'ministership' *VJ* 981. 1173. 1483, *šmny'k* 'monkship' 10. 123, from the light stems *pwt-*, *myš-* (cf. § 509), *šmn-*.

adverbial S. *'wšp'r* 'par delà' *T* ii D ii 169 (a) i V 8, from Man. *'wš* 'there', cf. B. *'wts'r* § 461; B. *'wšp'r* *šwkyh Dhy* 399 'in the world beyond' (Weller), from B. *'wš* 'there'; S. *mršp'r* adv. 'here, en deçà' *T* ii D ii 169 (a) i V 9, cf. *mrts'r* § 461; *cynidr'p'r* Man. *Lett.* ii 8, B. *cntr p'r Dhu* 49, 'internal, being inside'; Chr. *byqp'r* 'out' i 21, 9, adv.; *cšrp'r* adv. 'below' *M* 133, 23.

With further extensions cf. B. *βykp'rcyk*, *cntrp'r'cyk*, § 1013, and, perhaps, *i p'ryq* 'altogether' Man. *Lett.* ii 17, B. *'yw p'r'yk DN* 10. *Intox. Sūtra* 13.

1117. (73) B. *-šn'k*, from *-dānaka-* (v. § 122) 'container',<sup>1</sup> in S. *cšmšn'kw* 'eye-socket' (H.) *T* ii T, and *z'kšn'k SCE* 14, *z'kšn'k Dhu* 266 'womb', cf. MPers. *pwsy'n*, *BBB* p. 73, NPers. *zihdān*. [v. Addenda.]

1118. (74) *-stan*, *-stane*, from *\*-stāna(ka)-* 'place of', v. § 122, where also on *βyyst'n*. Man. *(β)wšs(t)n* 'garden' *M* 840 b ii 8, B. *βwšstn Vim* 78, *βwšstnyh* Loc., *SCE* 2; S. *cymstn* 'China' *Anc. Lett.* ii 18. 30; *šyws(t)n* 'demon-land' *M* 247, 19 (H.); B. *n'k'stn'k Vim* 80 sq., *n'k'stn'k P* 3, 126, 'Nāga-place'; B. *pr'yβ'k stny kyr'n* (thus to be read instead of *st'y* (H.)) Chin. 'cloud-place-region' *Padm* 47; B. *ryz'kh* 'stny' 'in a \*rice-field' *P* 2, 1017 (H.).

1119. (75) *-(y)'wr* (?). In the case of Man. *šryj'wr*, Chr. *žy'wr*, 'heart', v. § 287, the *y* certainly belongs to the stem. This is not so clear in the case of Man. *krjy'wr* 'wonderful', from *krj* 'wonder'.

1120. (76) *-kr*, *-kry*. Connected by Benv., *Notes* iii 224, with *kry* 'time, turn, sequence', cf. B. *kry' Dhu* 56. 165 'in succession (Weller)', *pr kry' pčβ'nty Dhy* 30 'in succession, one after the other (Weller)', Man. *qry' M* 134 ii V 13, *n' kry'cyq* 'untimely' § 1014. H. compares OPers. *čiya<sup>h</sup>-kara-*, Skt. *kāla*, *sakrt*, *krtvas*, Pers. *diḡar* and (for *myškrjy*) *rūzgār*. The Sogdian examples are *myškrjy* 'day', v. *BBB* p. 84 on 714, and *nwkr* 'now, then' (H.). [Cf. Oss. *kar* 'age'.]

1121. (77) *-kar* 'making, doing', from *-kara-*, cf. NPers. *-gar*, Horn, op. cit. 190. *xw'qr* 'merchant', v. § 392. Cf. the abstracts Chr. *'zd'qry* 'revelation, announcement' ii 3, 42, S. *rzkr(y)'kh* 'rectitude' *Sogd.* 2, 5, B. *kšp'yckry*, § 969.

1122. (78) *-kare*, *\*-aka-* extension of the preceding. *(')x'sqryy[t]* Pl. 'soldiers' *Sogd.* 27, 25; *'zrmkryy* 'hurting'; *ywn'kryy* 'sinful, sinner'; *zyrnkryy* *M* 662, 7 'goldsmith'; *'zprtqryy* Pl. 'purifiers' *Sogd.* 48 bottom; &c.

On *-kare*: *-kāre* v. § 1125.

1117<sup>1</sup> Cf. also Chr. *ywšy*, B. *ywš'k*, v. H., *BSOS* x 99, a measure of capacity, connected by H. with Av. *gaōdi-*, *gaōdana-*, cf. *JRAS*, 1944, 143, fn. 3.

1123. (79) -karene, although not a proper suffix, may be mentioned here. It is used in open compounds with the meaning 'who makes, causes'. *γnd'ky grynyy* 'evildoer' *M* 107 ii 24 sq.; *S. γwyck kryny* 'deliverer' *T* ii *D* 169 (*Stellung Jesu*, 95, 8) V 16; Chr. *pc'w grynyt* Pl. 'brawler' ii 6, 23 (v. *BBB* p. 68 on 544).<sup>1</sup>

1124. (80) -kār. S. *ztk'r Frq* ii<sup>a</sup> 25, Pl. *ztk'rty T* *M* 389 a V 3, 'nobleman', cf. Pers. *كاري* (H.); Man. *xwδk'r* 'alone', cf. §§ 269 fn. 1336 fn. [v. Addenda.]

1125. (81) -kāre from *\*-kāraka-* 'making, doing', cf. NPers. -gār, Horn, loc. cit. 189. *wyjg'ryyh* 'evildoer', v. § 219; *mstk'ryy* 'intoxicating', v. *BBB* p. 74 on 591; *psq'ryy* 'assistant', v. § 99; &c. Alternating with -kare (§ 1122), in Man. *qt'ny k'ryty* Pl., *M* 129 R 2 sq., *S. krt'nyk'rch* Fem., *BBB* p. 101 on e 22, against Chr. *qt'ny qr* Voc., i 68, 21, 'sinner'.

1126. (82) -angāre, from *\*-ham-kāraka-*. Qualifying moral behaviour. *βjng'ryy* 'evildoer, sinful', v. *BBB* p. 63 on 520, cf. Khot. *bašdamggāra* (E), H., *BSOS* x 102 fn. 2; B. *δryw'nk'r'k* 'lying, deceitful' *VJ* 703; Man. *š[yr]ng'ryy* § 73 fn., Chr. *šyrng'ry* ii 1, 66, B. *šyrnk'r'y* *VJ* 412, *šyrnk'r'kw* *VJ* 9c, Pl. *šyrnk'r'tt* *SCE* 563, *šyrnk'r'yty Dhu* 32, 'pious', cf. Khot. *šāraṅgāra*. [v. Add.]

1127. (83) -tāč. S. *yw t'c* 'the only one' *ST* i 86, 4, *ywt'ch yw'r'k* 'eating alone' *SCE* 125. Cf. MPers. *yw t'g*, NPers. *yaktā*, *Sogd.* 24, 9.

1128. (84) -tāk, from *√tāk*, cf. MPers. Parth. -dāg, Bailey, *BSOS* vii 80 sqq., H., *BSOS* viii 587. For Sogdian H. quotes S. *mwz't'k* 'gospel-bearer' *T* *M* 351 (*Stellung Jesu*, Plate ii) R 3, < *mwžt-t'k* (cf. § 1128 a), and Man. *r'δδt'k*, adj., 'setting on the way' *M* 135 ii 9.

1128 a. (84 a) *\*-tāč(a)k* in Chr. *mždwc'q* ii 1, 96 'gospel', acc. to H. < *\*mwžd'cq* < *\*mwžd-t'c-q* = MPers. *myzdg-t'c-yh* 'gospel' (Parth. *mwjdgd'g/c*, &c.).

1129. (85) -bār, from *\*-pāra-*. Man. *tmb'r* and *tmp'r* (*BBB* 487), B. *tnp'r*, cf. § 449, Chr. *tm'r* § 453.

1130. (86) -vāre, from *-bāra-(ka-)*. Man. *s(w)γβ'ryy* 'sad' *M* 337, 6, possibly loanword, cf. Parth. *swgb'r*, NPers. *sōgvār*.<sup>1</sup>

1123<sup>1</sup> *šyr'krty'krynyy* in the passage quoted *BBB* p. 74 bottom is possibly to be read *\*krunyy* (cf. § 1101).

1130<sup>1</sup> Different is B. *\*sp'δβ'ry* *Vim* 136 'army-equipment' (Weller), for which H. compares MPers. *b'rg* 'apparel'. Unclear are the derivatives from *δst-* 'hand': B. *δstβ'r* *\*s-* 'to seize' *SCE* 375, *cnn δrm'yk δstβ'ry* 'by means of, with the help

1131. (87) -var, from *-bara-*. Nomina agentis, especially for professions. Chr. *bwžbrt* Pl. 'publicans', cf. § 120; B. *γznβrt* Pl. 'treasurers' *VJ* 106; Chr. *d'tbr* 'judge'; Man. *δyδymβrt* adj. Pl. 'crown-wearing, crowned' *M* 133, 93; *\*ktyβr* 'householder', v. § 994; B. *kynβr* 'hater, enemy' *Padm* 25.

1132. (88) -vare, from *-baraka-*. S. *βzβ'r'k* 'destitute, needy', v. *BBB* p. 78 on 634, cf. B. *βyzβ'rcyh* § 1008; *frnβryy* 'happy' *M* 286 i 4, *S. prnβrch* Fem., *T* ii *D* 93 h V 5; *β'rβry* *M* 136 V 12, B. *β'rβ'r'k* *SCE* 342, 'carrying a load'; *yp'kβryy* 'angry' *M* 118 ii R 3. 5; &c.

On the substantivized *z'tyβrc* v. § 1005.

1133. (89) -varān, cf. § 1033. 'Feeling'. Man. B. *šyrβ'r'n* 'happy' *T* ii *D* 117, 31. *SCE* 11. 19; Man. *βyyjyβ'r'n* loc. cit. 20, B. *βyzyβ'r'n* *SCE* 11, *βyzyβ'r'n* ib. 18, 'unhappy'.

1134. (90) -āvar(e). Man. *δyn'βr* 'electus'; B. *\*p'β'r'y* 'dropsical' *SCE* 415.

1135. (91) -δār, from *-dāra-*, 'holder, keeper'. Man. *xš'wnd'r* 'ruler'; *δynd'r* 'electus'; Chr. *frm'nd'rty* Pl. 'tutors' i 83 sq., *S. prm'nd'r* 'administrator', cf. H., *Orientalia*, viii 89 fn. 1; B. *n'βδ'r* 'governor' *T* iii § 23, 6; *w'tδ'r* 'living being'; B. *wβrδ'r* 'Himalaya' *Dhy* 209.

1136. (92) -δāre, from *-dāraka-*. *\*nwtd'ryy* in Man. *nwtd'rky* *M* 133, 98 sq., occurring in a series between *γrβ'ky* and *šy*, from *\*nwt* 'refuge, protection'; Chr. *b'γd'ryt* Pl. 'farm-labourers' i 19, 17. 21, 7. 13; Man. *δynd'ryy* 'electus', v. § 969; B. *kty'kδ'r'y* *grhapati* (Weller) *Vim* 126 sq., *kty'kδ'r* Voc., ib. 60. [v. Addenda.]

1137. (93) -p'k, -p', 'protecting'. B. *pyδp'k* 'elephant-guardian' *VJ* 48b. 61b. 203; Man. *(w)mndp* Voc., *T* ii *D* 66, 1, 10 'frontier-guard' (?).

1138. (94) -wāč from *√wak*. B. *zntw'ch mry* 'singing bird' *SCE* 179, cf. H., *BSOS* x 105 [now also *Trans. Phil. Soc.* 1945, 161].

## PREFIXES

## 1139. Conspectus.

*\*w-*, 1140.

*c-*, 1146.

*cš-*, 1146.

*cw*, 1144<sup>a</sup>.

*δ(y)š-*, 1146.

*fry-*, 1 45.

*j-*, 1146.

*jyšt-*, 1147.

of the dharma' *Dhu* 33, Man. *δstβry nyy's-* *M* 129 R 8 sq. (obscure context), B. *δstwβry* 'handwriting' *ST* ii 8, 11 (Acc.), *δst'wβry* 'manuscript, handwriting' *Intox. Sūtra* 33 (Obl. acc. to Lentz, *ST* ii 546 fn. 3). [Cf. *δst(w) βr-* *Kaw.* C 5.]

mnd-, 1150-4.

n'-, 1155-60.

nw-, 1161 sq.

ny-, 1148.

nyš-, 1149.

(')p(-), 1163.

pr-, 1141.

1140. (1) "w- 'co-', from *hāmō*-, v. § 351.

(2) pt- 'in', v. *BBB* p. 81 on 674. Man. *ptmnydy* 'daily'; S. *ptzmnw* 'in time'; B. *ptpt'yn* 'opposed, separate'; *ptnwyy* *δstyk* 'again, de nouveau' *M* 591, 3 sq.

1141. (3) pr- 'into'. Chr. *pr dst wn-* 'locare', lit. 'to make handed over' i 19, 17.<sup>1</sup>

1142. (4) pr(w)- 'after', from *aparam*-, v. H., *JRAS*, 1942, 242 fn. *prw frwxšpδ*, acc. to H. 'the latter part of *frwxšpδ*' (lunar mansion); *pršnxyt* Pl. 'small branches', lit. 'sub-branches', cf. § 342 fn. 2; cf. also *pršxyz* *Sogd.* 25, 26, adverbial, 'after the setting' (?).

1143. (5) pš- from *pasča*, cf. § 373, 'after', cf. *BBB* p. 98. *pš'xryy* 'after-meal'; *pš'gyrw* and *pš'gyrwy* (Nom.) *T i D* (Par. 23) 'after-self, deputy'; S. *pš'sry* 'occiput' (H.) *T ii T*; B. *pyšmwrδw* 'after death', v. § 138 fn.; *pš'bwtyt* *M* 599, 14, *pš'pwtyt* *T ii D* 66, 2, 12, Pl. 'after-Buddhas' or 'those who come after Buddha' (?). [v. Addenda.]

1144. (6) tr- from Av. *tara-*, 'against, beyond'. B. *tršytw* 'untimely, against fate' *P* 2, 32 (H.); B. *trny'my* 'untimely' *P* 3, 72 (H.); S. *trzmnuw* *T ii D* 213 (A 5) i 14, *trzmnyh* *DN* 82, *cnn trzmnycyk* *DN* 55 (cf. § 1013 fn.), adv. 'untimely'.

Forming a kind of superlative, B. *trw'rc* 'ultra-miraculous' or 'very strong' *Dhu* 291.

1144 a. (7) cw, opposite to the preceding, in B. (')cw *zmny(h)* 'at the right time' *P* 2, 1133. 1189 (H.).

1145. (8) fry-.

(a) 'hu-. Man. *fryrw'n*, v. *BBB* p. 77 fn. 3.

(b) 'φλο-. B. only, common in the *SCE*, perhaps as a Chinese calque.<sup>1</sup> *pry 'sprym'k* 'one who likes flowers' 138; *pry βrzy*

<sup>1141</sup> *pr* here is not used as a preposition, since it is not followed by the Acc. \**dstw*. The parallel passage 21, 12, has the unclear spelling *dstw*.

<sup>1142</sup> Also used independently as an adverb: B. *'prw* 'then' *SCE* 44. 283. *Vim* 21. 104. *Dhu* 67. 192, *'prw* *Dhu* 197, *kδry 'prw* 'from now on' *DN* 74, S. *cnn 'prw myδ* 'in future' *T M* 393 ii R 3.

<sup>1145</sup> Where the noun has the \*-*aka*- ending, one might consider the whole to be a *bahuvrihi*, 'one to whom flowers, &c., are dear'.

*pr(w)*-, 1142.*pš*-, 1143.*pt*-, 1140.(')*pw*-, 1164-6.*tr*-, 1144.*w*-, *wt*-, 1166.

*ny'wδn'y* 139 sq., *pry rnk'n ny'wδnw* 142, 'who likes long (coloured) garments'; *pry w'r'γn'y 't pry δrwnp'δ'y* 'who likes hunting-hawks, who likes bow and arrows' 134 sq.

(c) 'fain'. B. *pry 'nyr'mn'y* (Pres. Partc.) 'who likes to slander' *SCE* 145.

1146. (9) OIr. *duš*-, *duž*-. *δ(y)št(γ)wc* 'poverty', B. *δštwn*, *cštwn* 'poor', *ckšt* 'ugly', v. § 286. *jkryy* 'sinful', v. § 287.

1147. (10) *iyšt*-'*duš*-, in *iyšt'rw'ndy*, *iyšt'm'ncy'h*, 'bad-intentioned attitude', v. *BBB* p. 75 on 606, cf. § 451.

1148. (11) *ny*-'(with)out'. Man. Chr. B. *nyz'wr* 'weak', cf. Parth. *nyz'wr*, *Mir. Man.* iii, s.v.; B. *nykr'n* 'apart from (*cnn*)', except, beside' *Dhy* 122. 158, Man. *nykyr'n* *M* 840 c ii 1 (no context), from *kyr'n* 'side, direction' (v. § 111), cf. the following.

1149. (12) *nyš*-. Same function as the preceding, cf. MPers. *nyjd'd* 'unjust'. Chr. *nyšqr'n* 'out' i 4, 8, B. *cym'yδ nyškyr'n* 'apart from that' *T M* 422, 6.

1150. (13) *mnd*-. Privative. Adjectives (often attested only through the -*y* abstract), with the exception of B. *mntw'ry* 'absence of rain' *Padm* 42.

1151. (i) From nouns.

(a) *mnd 'ndygy* 'lack of function' *M* 130 i R 3; Chr. *mntz'wry* 'weakness' ii 3, 6.

1152. (b) With -*aka*- enlargement. *mndm'ncy* 'carelessness', v. *BBB* p. 67 on 541; *mndfrnqy* 'unhappiness' *M* 343 V hl.

1153. (ii) From adjectives.

(a) *mndyrβ'k* 'ignorant'; *mndzpřt*, *mnpřt* (v. § 454), 'impure'.

1154. (b) Enlarged by -*aka*- (?). *mndxwpyy* 'improper', Acc., *BBB* b 11. 28 sq., Obl. ib. 661.

1155. (14) *n*-. Cf. NPers. *nā*-, Horn, loc. cit. 193, Khwār. *n' n'm*, *n' n'mk*, *n' n'myδ'r*, 'fulān' (H.). General privative prefix.

(a) With substantives: B. *n' mrtym'yt* 'not-men' *DN* 6; *n' ny'my'h* 'untimely' *M* 765 k 4.

1156. (b) With adjectives (including *bahuvrihis*): *n' 'yt frn* 'unlucky' *M* 765 k 5; B. *L' 'spt srδ'k* 'whose years are not complete' *SCE* 14; *n' 'sptsrwšyy* 'whose obedience is not perfect'; *n' βrt'pcxwny'h* 'whodoesnottolerate reproaches'; *n' juwq* 'unsound, unwell' *T ii D* 79 b 1; *n' kry'cyq* 'untimely', v. § 1014; *\*n' kt'rk* 'inactive' *Sogd.* 29, 7. 9; *n' pδkcyq* 'unlawful', v. § 1014; *n' wyn'ncyk* 'invisible' *T ii D* 12, 8; *n' xwp* 'not good' *M* 697, 5. *T ii D* 79, 3, 6.

1157. (c) With a Present Participle: *n' yrβ(yyny)yt* Pl. 'ignorant' *T ii D 62, 23*.

1158. (d) With the Past stem or *-aka-* Past Participle, *n'* forms a negative Future Participle: *n' yrβtyy* 'incomprehensible' *T ii D 66, 1, 13*; *n' wyyt* 'invisible' *T ii D 117, 28 sq.*; B. *L' δβ'γst* 'unobtainable' *VJ 241, 243*; *L' βyrt*, id., *Dhy 292*.

1159. (e) With a Present stem, *n'* is found in Man. *zmb n' yrβ* (or *yrβy*) 'knowing no limits, immeasurable' *T ii T 22, 22*, negative of *\*zmbyrβ*. Cf. also B. *L' β'r* 'not riding' § 902 fn.

1160. (f) *n'* forms a bahuvrīhi with a following substantive in S. *L' γwstw'nyβt* 'one who does not practise confession' *XI i R 6*.

1161. (15) *nw-*. Privative, cf. Khot. *anau* (Reichelt and H., v. *BBB* p. 78 top), and NPers. *نوسپاس*, *JRAS*, 1894, 490. Mostly *-aka-* stems.

(a) Adjectives: *nwβznyy* 'shameless', *nws'cy* 'unsuitable', *\*nwurnyy* in *nwurn'ky* 'lack of belief', B. *nw'scy'n'k* 'unworthy'.

1162. (b) Substantives: *nwptfr'uncykt* Pl. 'oubliettes', cf. § 1015; B. *pr nw yrβ'w* *VJ 381*, *cnn nw yrβ'y* ib. 393, 'in ignorance'; Man. *nwryjyy* 'dislike' (*\*ndwxc 'tyy n'* 'sorrow and d.' *M 378, 11 = M 410, 36*, *pw n'* 'without d.' *T ii D 66, 2, 20*). [B. *nwryzy P9, 122*.]

1163. (16) (')*p*(')-, from *apa-*. Privative. Chr. *pd'ty* adj. 'unrighteous, unlawful' *i 43, 18 (Obl.)*, 44, 3 (Acc.), B. (')*pd'ty* adv., *VJ 946*. *SCE 102, 146*, Chr. *\*pd't* 'injustice' in *pd'tqry* 'unjust' *i 43, 14*, 44, 3, *ii 6, 9*, cf. Pers. *balād*, H., *BSOS x 102*; B. *p'krtyh* 'non-action', or 'undone', *VJ 192*, from *apa-+aktya*.

1164. (17) (')*pw-* 'without'. Prefixed to substantives, verbal nouns, and adjectives, the whole word acting as

(a) Adjective: *pw'mb'r* 'insatiable', v. *BBB* p. 98 top; *pw'ry* *M 135 ii 33*, B. *pw'ry Vim 38*, 'priceless, invaluable'; *pw'w s'k* *pw'w ptšm'r* 'countless' *M 378, 12*; B. *pw'kws 'pw'kyr'n* 'infinite, unlimited' *P 3, 48 sq.*, Man. (*pw'kws kyr'n*, *Sogd. 27, 6. 10*; *pw [z](r)cnwq* 'pitiless' *M 133, 26 sq.*, S. *pwz'rcn'wkw* *BBB* p. 92 on b 15; &c.

1165. (b) Substantive (rare): *pw'nwt* 'lack of protection' *BBB* b 77; *pw'ptcšy* 'unseizability' *Sogd. 29, 5*.

1166. (c) Adverb, viz. *pw* is treated as a preposition: *prw fry'wyyh* *pw'w jyšt'wc* '(they live) in love, without hatred' *JRAS*, 1944, 140 fn. 2; *pw'nc'n* 'continuously, without interruption' *M 140 R 10*. Construed with *\*hačā* in S. *pw c'β* 'without thee' *T ii D ii 169 (a) i V 10*.

(18) *w'-*, *wt-*, *Elatives*, v. § 1309.

## NOUN INFLEXION

Cf. Tedesco, *ZII* iv 94 sqq. See conspectus, § 1270

1167. The light-stem endings developed from the OIr. *-a-* stem inflexion.

Heavy stems had at first one ending only, viz. *-t* for the Plural. Later, the light-stem Gen.-Dat. ending *-y* was extended to heavy stems as a general Oblique ending, which was sometimes used also for the Accusative.

By analogy *-y* could then sporadically replace the older Accusative and Ablative endings of light stems (cf. § 1174. 1197. 1200).

## LIGHT STEMS

## Substantives

## A. Singular

1168. (1) Nominative.

(i) *-y*, Masc., from *\*-ah*, v. § 402. Man. *βγγy* 'god'; B. *cšmy* 'eye' *VJ 878*; S. *yzny* 'treasure' *JRAS*, 1944, 138, 9; *jwzšqyy* 'disciple' *M 655, 2. 25*; Chr. *ptry* 'father'; S. *smwtry* 'ocean' *T ii D 77 (A 1) 29*; *tmy* 'hell' *M 110 ii R 7.1*

1169. (ii) *-w*.

(a) Neuter, from *-am*, v. § 349. B. *δtw* 'wild animal' *VJ 313. 949. 968*.

(b) Masc., v. § 1190.

(c) Fem., Man. *wδw* 'wife', v. § 506.

1170. (iii) *-y*, Fem., from *-ā*. *xšp* 'night'; *δwyt* 'daughter' *M 760, 7*; *wjp* 'terror', § 510; *wn* 'tree' *M 904 i 13*.

1171. (2) Accusative.

(i) *-w*.

(a) Masc. (with *\* possibly Neuter or Fem., since no Nom. occurs*), from *-am*, § 349. S. *'zr'wšcw* 'Zarathuštra' *JRAS*, 1944, 138, 26; *βznurw* (\*) 'shame'; *cšmw* 'eye' *BBB 657*; *cšrw* 'wheel' *M 178 ii V 32*; *δβrw* 'door' ib. *R 30*; *δstuw* 'hand' *M 370, 5*; S. *yznw*

*xx681 tm-* is treated as a Feminine below, § 1181; uncertainty of gender, being an old Neuter (H.). Vacillation (Masculine:Neuter) is shown by *wrn-* 'faith' (Nom. *-ww* *M 133, 59*, but *-yy* *M 14 V 1*, *-y* *M 664, 15*), from Av. *varna-*, Masc. The gender of the word for 'blood', too, is not settled: Nom. Chr. *ywny* *i 81, 14*, B. *γurnw* *VJ 278. 783*, Acc. *xurnyy* Man. *Lett. i 21. 29. ii 13*, *yzwny* *BBB f 59*, Man. *ww yzurnw* *T ii D 139 i 8*, B. *ZKwh yzurnw* *P 2, 476*. It is possible that the ending *-y*, here, represents *-ī*, *-im*, of the stem Av. *vohunī-*, Fem., while the forms with *-w* go back to a Neuter Av. *vohuna-* (in compounds; cf. Man. *ywnz* 'pšyyk' 'blood-spilling' *JRAS*, 1944, 143, 18).

'treasure' *T ii D 4*; *mδw* 'wine' *M 130 i R 1*; *S. srw* 'head'; *wyδwuw* 'joy' *M 178 i R 7*; *wgruw* (\*) 'kind, species' *M 778, 12*; &c.

1172. (b) Neuter. *δtū* 'wild animal' *BBB 512*.

1173. (c) Fem. (cf. § 350). *wnw* 'tree' *BBB a 7*.

1174. (ii) -y, Masc. *cxryy* 'wheel' *M 178 ii V 16*; *mryyy* 'bird' *T ii D 79 c 4*; *ptryyh* 'father' *M 143, 4*; *smwtryy* 'ocean' *M 137 R 3*; *wyšyy* 'joy' *JRAS, 1944, 140 fn. 2*; *xwštryyh* 'camel' § 517; &c.

1175. (iii) -ʔ, Fem. B. *βyz* 'evil' *VJ 318, 1328* (but *βyzy VJ 311*); Chr. *dxšt* 'plain, desert'; Man. *rw* 'medicine'; *wf* 'snow' (for its being Fem., cf. H., *BBB* pp. 57, 72 bottom, *Morgenstierne, IIFL ii 262*, and *S. wβrh P 13, 22*); B. *wnh* 'tree' *Frg ii<sup>a</sup> 23*.

1176. (3) Vocative. -ʔ. Man. *βy* 'god'.

1177. (4) Genitive-Dative.

(i) -y. Masc., from *-ahya*. *ʔspyy* 'horse' *JRAS, 1944, 143, 19*; *βyyy* 'god'; *γyy* 'mountain' *Kaw. G 22*; *jwaxšqyy* 'disciple' *M 655, 11*; *mryyy* 'bird' *T ii D 79 c 5*; *tmyh* 'hell' *M 372, 3*; *xwštryy* 'camel', § 517; &c.

1178. (ii) -yʔ, Fem. *βjy* 'evil' *M 107 ii 23* (not certain); Man. *cyny* 'silk' *BBB 527*; B. *wδuyh* 'wife' § 506; B. *wnyh* 'tree' *Frg ii<sup>a</sup> 11, 12*.

1179. (5) Ablative.

(i) -ʔ.

(a) Masc. (from *-āt*, cf. § 280). *βy* 'god'; <sup>1</sup>*bwt<sup>h</sup>* 'Buddha' *M 370, 12*; cf. *DN 68*; *δβr<sup>h</sup>* 'door' *T ii D 117, 21*; *δst* 'hand' *M 672 ii 13*; *myš<sup>h</sup>* 'sun' *T ii D 66, 2, 4*; *pīr* 'father' *T ii D 79, 1, 11*; *t<sup>h</sup>m* 'hell' *M 135 ii 7*; &c.

1180. (b) Fem. B. *βyz* 'evil' *VJ 102, 40<sup>b</sup>, 60<sup>b</sup>, SCE 548*; B. *δysth* 'plain, desert' *VJ 315*.

1181. (ii) -yʔ, Fem. Chr. *byzy* 'evil' *ii 5, 21*; *tmy* 'hell' *M 118 i V 2, 1*; *tmy<sup>h</sup>* *M 549 i 22*, cf. § 1168 fn.; B. *wδyh* 'wife', § 506; *wjpy<sup>h</sup>* 'terror', § 510; *wny* 'tree' *M 904 i 3, 4, 6*.

1182. (6) Predicative Instrumental, -ʔ from *-ā*. With light stems noticed, so far, only in B. (leaving aside the Past Participle in the Potentialis construction, § 881 fn. 1); for adjectives v. § 1201; for heavy stems v. § 1223.

It is used for the nominal predicate in sentences like 'to become a ...', 'to be born as a ...', &c., cf. the identical use of the Russian<sup>1</sup>

1179<sup>1</sup> Exceptional negligence *cn fryšty βyy M 135 ii 34*, with Gen.-Dat. ending; cf. also § 1200.

1181<sup>1</sup> v. § 1681.

1182<sup>1</sup> [and Ossetic, cf. Bailey, *Trans. Phil. Soc.* 1946, 204 sq.]

Instrumental. Examples from the *SCE*:<sup>2</sup> *ʔsp* 'horse' 371, *γr* 'donkey' ib. and 161, *mry* 'bird' 179, *mry* 155, *kp* 'fish' 156, 353, *kyrm* 'snake' 145, *wyrk* 'wolf' 137.

1183. (7) Locative, -y. Masc. and Fem. *ʔšpy* 'night' (Fem.) *M 147*. *M 148* passim; *βny* 'temple'; *δβry* 'entrance' *Man. Lett. i 29*; *δsty<sup>h</sup>* 'hand'; Chr. *dxšt*, B. *δyšt<sup>h</sup>* (Fem.) 'plain, desert' *i 32, 16, 58, 10. VJ 800*; *pīny<sup>h</sup>* 'town' *BBB 698*; *sry* 'head' *M 802, 11*; *smwtry* and *sumtry* 'ocean', v. §§ 505, 512; *tmy* 'hell' *M 118 i V 3*; *wfry* 'snow' (Fem., cf. § 1175) *BBB 496*; *ywy* \*'barley' (H.) *M 746 c 13*; &c.

#### B. Plural

1184. (1) Nominative-Accusative.

(a) -t, cf. § 1069. Chr. B. *cšmt* 'eyes'; *δβrt* 'gates', passim; *δst* 'hands', from \**δast-tā*; <sup>1</sup>*tmt* 'hells' *M 128 V 7*; Chr. *pīrt* 'fathers'; B. *yktš* 'yakšas', v. § 511; &c.  
Fem. *wnd* 'trees' *M 178 i R 30*.

1185. (b) -ʔ, from *-ā*. B. *ʔstk* 'bones' *SCE 83, 271*; S. *βy* 'gods' *Anc. Lett. iii 23*; B. *cšm* 'eyes' *SCE 253, 508*; *δβr* 'gates', § 1676.

1186. (c) -yšt. Masc., Fem., and Neuter, but only of animate beings.<sup>1</sup> Connected by Gauthiot, *MSL xx 75*, with Wakhi *-išt*, cf. *IIFL ii 487*. For the sake of convenience, the examples where *-yšt* acts for the Oblique, and those where the Oblique ending *-y* is added, are included in the following list. Man. *ʔwt<sup>h</sup>yšt* 'dogs' *T ii D 62, 22*, *ʔyšt<sup>h</sup>* Obl. ib. 19; *βyyšt<sup>h</sup>* (l), Obl. *βyyšt<sup>h</sup>*, 'gods'; *δδyšt<sup>h</sup>* 'wild animals' *T ii T 22 R 10*; B. *γδyšt* 'thieves' *SCE 312*; *kpyšt* 'fishes' Nom. *M 127 R 9*, *ʔyšt<sup>h</sup>* Acc. ib. 13;<sup>2</sup> Chr. *qrmyšt* 'snakes' *i 6, 9*; Man. *kwyšt* 'giants' *Kaw. G 12*; *mryyšt* *BBB 511*, &c., *mryyšt<sup>h</sup>* Obl. *T ii D 62, 18*, B. *mryyšt* Nom.-Acc. and Obl. *SCE 105, 262*, 'birds'; S. *puttyšt* 'prophets' *T M 389 a V 23*, 'Buddhas'

1182<sup>2</sup> Although some of the light-stem -ʔ endings of the *SCE* (so far unaccounted for) can be recognized as Predicative Instrumentals, there still remain a few which presumably merely display misuse of -ʔ (-h) by wrong extension from the cases to which it belongs. Cf. e.g. *ʔpa* 'sheep', *δpšh* 'louse', *ʔβšh* 'flea', *mwysk* 'fly' Gen., 364 sq.; *kp* 'fish' Acc., 240 (but *kpw* 85); *wyr* 'husband' Nom., 174.

1184<sup>1</sup> Or belonging to § 1185; thus Tedesco, loc. cit. 153.

1186<sup>1</sup> Chr. *qwpwdy[š]t* 'pigeons' *i 6, 9*, is, of course, the ordinary Plural of *qwpwtyc* *i 61, 13*, B. *kpwt<sup>h</sup>ych* *SCE 163, 175, 351*. Similarly *w(r)γ(y)y[š]t<sup>h</sup>* 'crows' *M 399, 8*, identified by H., presupposes a Singular \**wr<sup>h</sup>yyc*. The Singular of Chr. *bzyšt* may have been *bz-* or *bzyc*, v. Tedesco, loc. cit. 152 sq. Otherwise Tedesco was wrong in contesting Bartholomae's assertion of a Plural suffix *-yšt* for animals.

1186<sup>2</sup> From this Plural, a freak Singular *kpyš* was made *ibid. 9*, but the same text also has *kpyy*.

VJ 104. &c., Obl. Man. *putyšty* BBB d 1; S. *wδ'yšt*h 'wives' § 506; Chr. *wyrqyšty* 'wolves' Obl., i 6, 8; Man. *ykšyšt* 'yakšas' § 511.

1187. (d) B. -y', -yh, in *'spyh* 'horses', *'wštryh* 'camels', v. Tedesco, loc. cit. 153, cf. also *'spy* VJ 164, *'h* *'spyh* Nom. Vim 64, perhaps *'kutyh* 'dogs' SCE 226.

(e) On the Plural of *δwyt*- 'daughter' v. § 1231.

### 1188. (2) Oblique.

(a) -ty'. *δβrt'y*h 'doors' BBB 648; *δsty*h 'hands' M 133, 32; *γrt'y* 'mountains' Kaw. G 21, &c.; *jwδqty*h 'disciples' T ii D 62, 17; B. *ykšty* 'yakšas' § 511.

Fem.: *wndy* 'trees' T ii B R 4.

(b) -yšt(yy), v. § 1186.

1189. (c) -n, from *-ānām*, Gen. Cf. also §§ 1207. 1230. 1261. *βγ'n*, in formulae like *βγ'n βxtm* 'devātideva', v. § 1295, *βγ'n xšyyδ* 'lord of the gods' T ii D 66 c 9 sq., *βγ'n nγwn* 'king-like' (H.) used in addressing ecclesiastics, T ii D 207, 23. T ii T 31 (on *βγ'n* (°y, °w) in the *Anc. Lett.* cf. H., ZDMG 90, 198); B. *γr''n γwt'w* 'king of the mountains' P 6, 47.

Fem. B. *'rwr'n mwc*k' *'pkyn'y* *'rδ'yp'k* *γwt'w* 'Bhaiṣajya-guru-vaiḍūrya-prabha-rāja' P 6, 2 and passim.

### C. Old u- stems

1190. Old u- stems that have not adopted the -a- stem inflexion, remain uninflected: *šmnw* 'Ahriman'; *rtw* '10 seconds'; *xrw* 'judge' Nom. M 135 i 34 (B. *'γt'w* SCE 374), Acc. ib. 4. 16, cf. the abstract *xty'k* § 1110.

On the inflexion of the -ū- stem OIr. *wadū-*, v. § 506 fn.

### (Light-stem) Adjectives

#### A. Singular

#### 1191. (1) Nominative.

(a) -y, Masc. B. *'ks'y*, *ks'y*, 'thin' VJ 394. 544; S. *'ny* 'other' T M 393 ii R 21. *Anc. Lett.* ii 35; B. *δβty* 'second', *pry* 'dear', v. Tedesco, loc. cit. 105 adn. d; B. *mryy* 'straight' SCE 65; B. *mwrzky* 'short' § 522; Man. Chr. *rwššny(y)* 'luminous' M 14 V 6. ST ii 2, 11; Chr. *γrt'y* 'wide' § 518.

1192. (b) -w, Neuter. *'spwuw* 'complete' M 776, 12; *šyru* 'good things' M 617 i 4; B. *'nyw* 'other' VJ 948.

1193. (c) -, Fem., cf. Tedesco, loc. cit. 148. B. *mwrzk* 'short' § 522; B. *pwrn*h 'full' VJ 877; *rwššn* 'luminous' M 178 i R 19; B. *šyr* 'good' VJ 1054; B. *wyš* 'joyful' VJ 1238. 1403; *xwc* βw[δδ 'nice smell' M 521 b 31 (but Chr. *xwcy bud* ii 3, 66). [v. Add.]

### 1194. (2) Accusative.

(i) -w.

(a) Masc. B. *'βyzw* 'bad' SCE 272; Man. Chr. B. (°) *nyw* 'other';<sup>1</sup> *'spurnw* 'complete' BBB f 53 (possibly Neuter); B. *γwcu* 'nice' VJ 61. 1294. 1440; B. *mryw* 'straight' VJ 1497; Man. *šyru* BBB f 88. T i D (Par. 27), B. *šyr'w* SCE 189. 346, 'good'; Chr. *wyspw* 'all' i 47, 2.

1195. (b) Neuter. B. *kβnw* 'little' VJ 958; *šyru* 'good' M 178 i R 27; *wyspw* 'all' BBB 482.

1196. (c) Fem. (cf. § 350). Chr. (°) *yw* 'other' i 8, 7 (v. § 1194 fn.); *wyspw* 'rk' 'every work' M 135 i 24 sq. (quoted § 695; possibly Nom.; another copy, in Sogdian writing, T M 418 R 7, has *wysph* 'rk'). 27.

1197. (ii) -y, Masc. *mryy kun-* 'to straighten' M 118 i R 12 sq.; *rwššnyy* 'luminous' M 672 ii 14; Man. *šyryy* 'good' Kaw. V 5, Chr. *šyry* i 12, 5. 38, 5 (but cf. § 1210); *šxy(y)* 'hard' Kaw. G 36; *xwcy* 'nice' M 117, 14 = M 765 k 12.

1198. (3) Genitive-Dative, -y. B. *'ny* 'other' (cf. § 1199 fn.) SCE 39. ST ii 7, 27; *šyry* 'good' BBB 627 (Fem.).

### 1199. (4) Ablative.

(a) -. B. *'ny*<sup>1</sup> 'other' SCE 4. *Frg* iii 47; *δβty* 'second, other', v. § 1336; *kβn*, in *kβn* *kβnw* 'little by little' M 134 ii R 12 sq.; *rwššn* (Fem.) T ii D 66, 2, 11.

1200. (b) -y (cf. § 1179 fn.). *rwššnyy* (Masc.) BBB f 80.

1201. (5) Predicative Instrumental, cf. § 1182. B. *'ks* 'thin' SCE 76; B. *wyš* 'joyful' VJ 41. 945.

1202. (6) Locative, -y'. Man. Chr. *wyspy* 'every' M 178 ii V 5. ST ii.

1203. (7) Vocative, -. *rwššn* BBB b, passim; *fry* 'dear' ib., *fry'h* M 674, 14, B. *pryh* VJ 309 (but *pry* ib. 24°).

#### B. Plural

#### 1204. (1) Nominative-Accusative.

(a) -t'. B. *'ksth* 'thin' VJ 1264 (v. JRAS, 1942, 100); Man. *'xšnkt*, S. *'γšnkt*, 'splendid', v. § 511; *γsnd* 'smelling', v. § 516; *nmrt* 'meek, soft', § 512; *rwššnd'h* 'luminous' M 178 i R 5; *šxt'h* 'hard' Sogd. 17, 21.

1194<sup>1</sup> (°) *nyw* is used for the Nom. Masc. Sg. in ST i 47, 12. VJ 957. 1011. *W. S.E. 10* *Frg* iii 47, for the Acc. Pl. in M 135 i 47.

1199<sup>1</sup> B. *'ny* is used for the Genitive in SCE 129. 274, for the Dative in VJ 1011.

1205. (b) -'. B. 'ny' 'other' *ST* ii 10, 31 (on the normal Plural of 'ny- (and of fry-), v. § 494); Man. *cn* 'thirsty' (?), v. § 386; *mrx' r'yl* 'flat plains' *M* 715 c 8; B. *wyš* 'happy' *VJ* 4<sup>a</sup>.

1206. (2) Ablative, -t'. *cn ii ruwšnd* [ *BBB* f 46, [ *cn* ] *ruwšndt* ] *wrtndly* *T* ii *D* 66 c 14, 'luminous chariots'. Cf. also Chr. *qšttr*, § 1300.

1207. (3) Old Genitive in -ān, cf. §§ 1189. 1230. 1261. *fry'n* *frytr* *M* 172 R 3, S. *pry'n(h)* *prym(h)* *T* ii *T* 10 sq. *VJ* 251 sq. 300. 1149, 'dearest of the dear', cf. § 1297.

No other forms have been noticed for the Oblique.

#### C. Remarks on some light-stem adjectives

1208. (1) *šyr*- 'good'. The following forms should be distinguished:

(a) The light-stem inflexion given above, to which the adverbial use of B. *šyr'w* *VJ* 302,<sup>1</sup> and the abstract *šyr'k*, v. § 198, belong. 1209. (b) *šyr* without ending, not to be confused with the adverb *šyr* 'very'. Frequent in B. as a Neuter, cf. *VJ* 11<sup>a</sup>. 28<sup>b</sup> (not clear). 878. *SCE* 20. 554. *Dhu* 43. 56.

1210. (c) With \*-aka- suffix. *šyryyh* *M* 143, 30, Chr. *šyry* ii 6, 20, Acc. Neuter; Man. Chr. *šyryt* *M* 915, 11. *ST* i 63, 12. Here possibly also the Acc. Sg. Masc., above, § 1197.

(d) With suffix -ak, v. § 982.

(e) With suffix -ik, v. § 994.

1211. (2) *kβn*- 'little', also occurs without ending, both as an adjective (*BBB* d 7) and as an adverb (ib. c 16). On *kβnk* v. § 982. The adverbial B. *kβny* (cf. Benv., *Notes* iv 515), possibly also Man. *qβnyy* *BBB* d 10, may represent an -aka- stem. The comparative is *kmbyy*, v. § 1302.

1212. (3) *wyš*- 'joyful'. The same light stem also serves as a substantive 'joy' (cf. § 517), and as a Present stem 'to rejoice' (*M* 834 ii 2. *M* 617 ii 28. *VJ* 36. *SCE* 53. Cf. also Chr. *γwš*-, B. 'γwš-, Man. \*γwš-, § 213 fn. 1). The base is, acc. to H., *gaš*- (cf. Ghilain, 58, H., *BSOS* x 509).

1213. (4) The stem of *βyj*- 'bad' (cf. § 179) also occurs as a Fem. substantive 'evil', cf. §§ 1175. 1178. 1180 sq.

1214. (5) *wysp*- 'all' has partly a pronominal inflexion (cf. *JRAS*, 1942, 98 sq.,<sup>1</sup> to which add some of the following references. Cf. also § 1568):

1208<sup>1</sup> *rtj šn šyr'w prm'y dryty* 'please look after them well' (wrong Gauthiot).

1214<sup>1</sup> I am not so sure, now, that the B. examples of *wysp* without ending,

Abl. Chr. *wyspn*'.

Gen.-Dat. Man. S. *wyspny*<sup>2</sup> *M* 137 R 13 (unclear passage). *T* ii *D* 93 e R 3 (Sogd. script). *VJ* 396 *SCE*. Locative: *P* 3, 94. *BSOT* 11<sup>10</sup>

Pl. Nom. Man. B. *wyspy* *Kaw*. K 3. *SCE* 490. 543. *Padm* 1. 9. 38.

Pl. Obl. B. *wyspyšnw*.

However, in Man. and Chr., *wyspw* is used not only in the Acc. Sg. (v. §§ 1194-6), but also in the Nom. Sg. Masc. (*BBB* f 77. *ST* i 10, 11), the Gen. Sg. (*M* 172 R 4), the Abl. Sg. (*M* 107 ii 7), the Nom. Pl. (*M* 776, 9), the Gen. Pl. (*M* 118 i V 9), the Abl. Pl. (*M* 178 ii V 25 (quoted § 1657). *T* ii *D* 66 d ii 3).<sup>3</sup> Cf. the extended use of (')*nyw* § 1194 fn., B. 'ny' § 1199 fn.

1215. (6) The stem (')*sk*- 'high, loud' (cf. the forms collected § 99), is used in the following way:

(a) The adverb Man. 'sk' *JRAS*, 1944, 143, 22, from Av. *uskāt* (v. Tedesco, *BSL*, 1925, 151), is loosely employed as an adjective in Chr. (*sq*') and B. (Nom., *SCE* 71. 294; Acc., *ST* i 16, 6. *ST* ii 4, 13. *VJ* 15. 95). Its comparative and superlative are the adverbs 'sk'tr (§ 1285) and \*sk'tm, adjectivized respectively by the addition of -yk (v. § 1287) and -cyk (v. § 1296).<sup>1</sup> On its Elative v. § 1315.

1216. (b) The \*-aka- stem Man. B. 'sky(y) is used as an adjective in *Kaw*. K 8 (Abl.). *T* ii *D* 116, 14 (case not clear), and more or less adverbially in *VJ* 861. *SCE* 166, and in the expressions Man. *pr* 'skyy, (*pr*) 'skyy s'r, 'upwards', passim. From it the adjective (')*skycyq* was derived, v. § 1017.<sup>1</sup>

#### HEAVY STEMS

1217. Their normal inflexion consists of the Plural ending -t (cf. § 1069), and the ending -y (cf. § 1167) which can, but need not, be added to the Singular or Plural in the Oblique and the Accusative.

In the few Vocatives attested, the ending -' seems to be the rule. Of two other examples with -', one may be interpreted as a Predicative Instrumental (§ 1223), the other as an Ablative (§ 1224).

quoted there, are not as justified as *šyr* and *kβn* are. Cf. also *Anc. Lett.* iii 6 'βyz misfortune'.

1214<sup>2</sup> Used for the Nom. Pl. in *VJ* 112. 128 (?).

1214<sup>3</sup> Hence the Oblique B. *wyspwy* *Vim* 124, as if the stem were *wyspw*.

1215<sup>1</sup> In the passage there quoted, however, B. 'sk'tmcyk is also possibly an adverb.

1216<sup>1</sup> Cf. also the place-name اسكيفتن 'the high temple' (H.), Barthold, *Turkestan*, 135 sq.

The endings *y* and *-* have been borrowed from the light-stem inflexion.<sup>1</sup>

There is no difference between Masculines and Feminines in Man. and Chr., but in Sogdian writing Feminines are usually marked by a final *-h* (*°yh*, *°th*, *°tyh*).

Heavy-stem adjectives showing no ending in the Plural, can be considered as virtually having the old Plural ending *-ā*.

### Substantives

#### 1218. (i) Singular.

(1) Nominative-Accusative. *mrtyy* 'man'; *rwxsñ'γrdmn* 'paradise' (Fem.) *M* 178 i V 3. 8; *sm'n* 'sky' *M* 134 i V 10. *M* 674, 28. *M* 178 ii V 13; *wrtñ* 'chariot' *T* ii D 66 d ii 6; *z'wr* 'strength' *JRAS*, 1944, 142, 5; *z'yy* 'earth' Fem.; &c.

1219. (2) Accusative in *-y*. *δ'myy* 'creation' (Fem.) *BBB* b 83; *γ'δwky* 'throne' *M* 358, 2; *sm'nyy* 'sky' *M* 178 ii R 16. 19. 21.

1220. (3) Oblique without ending. *w'crn* 'street' *M* 135 i 19 (*w'rcn'y* in another copy of this text, in Sogdian writing, *T* *M* 418 R 3); *w'xš* 'word' *Man. Lett.* ii 17; *z'δmurδw* 'samsāra', quoted § 138 fn.

1221. (4) Oblique in *-yy*. *'njmnyy* 'assembly', *'wnglywny* 'Evangelium', *δyny* 'religion', *BBB*; *rwxsñ'γrdmn'y* 'paradise' (Fem.) *M* 178 i R 11; *rwxsñ'yky* 'light' *M* 674, 22; *sm'nyyh* 'sky' *M* 178 ii V 11; *wrtñyy* 'chariot' *M* 129 V 6; *z'wryy* 'strength' *M* 134 ii R 9; &c.

1222. (5) Vocative. *mrty* 'man' *T* ii D 117, 26; B. *pr'mn* 'Brahmin' *VJ* 34<sup>e</sup>. 66<sup>d</sup>; *fry'rw'n* 'dear soul' *BBB* b 97 (but *fry'rw'n* ib. 66. 81; *fry'br't* 'dear brother' *BBB* f 3); Chr. *ryncq* 'child' i 31, 6; Chr. *xypθ'wn't* i 37, 21. 47, 4, *xwdw*, B. *γwt'w*, *ST* ii, 'lord'; B. *γwyštr* 'chief' *DN* 74.

1223. (6) Predicative Instrumental (cf. § 1182). *'yny βyy'k* *δyn'βr* . . . *pcytd'rm* 'as an electus I have received this divinity' *BBB* b 43 sqq.

1224. (7) Ablative (?). *δβ'm]bn* *nβnd* *M* 712, 8 (restoration certain) 'with his wife'.

#### 1225. (ii) Plural.

(1) Nominative-Accusative, *-t*. *'wt'kt* 'places' *M* 178 i V 32; *δyn'βrt* 'electi' *Man. Lett.* i 6; *srδngt* 'chiefs' *Man. Lett.* ii 16; *wrtnd* 'chariots' *M* 129 V 4; &c.

<sup>1217</sup> The light-stem ending *-yšt* (§ 1186) has been erroneously applied to a heavy stem in B., v. § 1230 a.

1226. (2) Accusative in *-ty*. *nyws'ktyy* 'auditores' *M* 894 i 10.

1227. (3) Oblique in *-t*. *tmb'rt* 'bodies' *M* 810, 12; B. *pr'm'nt* 'Brahmins' *VJ* 202; S. *sm'nt* 'skies' *ST* i 86, 11.

1228. (4) Oblique in *-ty*. *'ptyy* 'waters' (Fem.) *BBB* 495; *srδngty* 'chiefs', § 1669; &c. Cf. also *-yštty* § 1186.

1229. (5) Vocative. Chr. *xwt'wty* 'my lords' ii 4, 42; B. *pr'mnty* 'oh Brahmins!' *VJ* 151. 8<sup>b</sup>.

1230. (6) Old Genitive in *-ān*, cf. §§ 1189. 1207. 1261. B. *βyc'n* *γwt'w* *P* 9, 77 sq. 92. 95 'a Harley-Street man' (H.); Man. *δyn'n* *xšyδ* 'Lord of religions (Jesus)' *T* ii D 66, 2, 10; *δyw'n* *sp'δ* 'army of demons' *M* 500 m i R 6; B. *γ'wzn'n* *γwt'w* 'king of gazelles' *Dhy* 36; B. *pyδ'n* (*°h*, *°w*) *γwt'w* 'king of elephants' *VJ* 68. 170. 175. 227. 422; S. *swydyk'nw* 'Sogdians' *Anc. Lett.* (cf. H., *ZDMG* 90, 198).

1230 a. (7) *-yšt*, erroneously extended from the light-stem inflexion (cf. § 1186), in B. *γw'r'yšt* 'sisters', Nom. *P* 2, 927.

1231. (8) Plural of *βr't* 'brother' and *δwyt-* (light stem) 'daughter' (cf. § 944): *βr'trt* Nom. *M* 617 ii 25; *βr'trty* *BBB* f 41, *βr'trtyy* *M* 778, 2, Obl.; S. *δwyrtrh*, *δywtrt*, Obl. *δwyrty*, *T* ii D passim.

### (Heavy-stem) Adjectives

#### A. Singular

1232. (1) Nominative.

(a) Masc. *'yjn* 'worthy' *BBB* f 78; *škwrd* 'difficult' ib. 5; &c.

1233. (b) Fem. *xns δyz* 'a strong fortress' *BBB* p. 104 on f 57.

1234. (2) Accusative.

(a) Masc. *'yjn* 'worthy' *BBB* b 42; *pyrnmcyk* 'original' *BBB* 755; *mzyx* 'great, big' *BBB* passim; &c.

1235. (b) Fem. *m'ncyq šm'r* 'intentional thought' *T* ii B V 16 sq.

1236. (c) Ending *-yy*. *sytm'nyy δβn* *ptyy'p* 'a doubt took every one' (H.) *Man. Lett.* i 27.

1237. (3) Oblique.

(a) No ending. *wy mzyx* *xšywny* *zrw'βyy* *pyrnm'sr* 'in front of the great god Zurvān' *M* 178 i R 1 sq.; *wnyy* *γrβ'k* *ty fryyrw'n* *'δyy* 'by any wise and soul-loving person' *M* 135 ii 44 sq.; *wy* *c'δrcyq sm'nyh* 'in the lower sky' *M* 178 ii V 28; S. *'yw cnn δβtyk* 'from each other' *T* ii D 2; &c.

1238. (b) Ending *-y*. No Man. or Chr. examples are at hand.



For S., cf. *'yw cnn δstyky* 'from each other' *T ii D 77 (A I) 37*; *cnn tnp'rmycy š'wyy'kh pyδ'r* 'because of the happiness of the body' *JRAS*, 1944, 137, 3; *cywyδ mnt* (39) *'zp'rtty r'βyħ* 'from this impure disease' *T M 389 a R*; *'myn š'wy ZK š'w ptwry* 'the black reward for the black (action)' *ST ii 10, 7*.

1239. (c) Ablative Fem., -'. Quite exceptionally, at the end of a line, in *cn [pt](r)yδδc*' (6) *wny' M 904 i*, 'from the mixed tree', Fem. from S. *ptryδy T ii D ii 169 (a) i V 4*, cf. § 965. The line preceding *ptryδc*' has *cn t'rc w[ny](')* 'from the dark tree'.

## B. Plural

1240. The following examples include the Plural of \*-aka- stem adjectives and participles, as well as of *fry-* 'dear' and *'ny-* 'other' (cf. § 493 sq.).

## (1) Nominative.

## (i) No ending (cf. § 1217).

(a) Attributive. *zβnd pc'w'kryy w"xštt* 'words causing the comrades to quarrel' *BBB 543 sq.*; *wyn'ndyy mryyšt* 'tyħ' *qwt'yšt* 'actual birds and dogs' *T ii D 62, 21 sq.*

1241. (b) Predicative. *kyy 'tyħ . . . nwšyy 'skund* 'which are immortal' *M 178 i V 6*; *myδcyk jmind' mzyx xnd 'ty 'xšpyk jmind' rynch* 'the hours of the day are long and the hours of the night short' *M 136 V 4 sqq.*; *'ty jmind' rystr 'ty msy'tr βndskun* 'the hours become shorter and longer' *M 14 R 6 sq.*; *frxwndyy šm'x kyy 'tyšy (p)'rynyy 'ty yβ'ryny wm[t](s)δ* 'oh happy you who have been nourishing and \*taking care of him!' *M 617 i 23 sq.*

## 1242. (ii) -t.

(a) Attributive. *wcytyt 'rt'wtt 'ty wrnkyynd nywš'kt* 'chosen electi and believing auditores' *BBB f 81*; *dyδymβrt* 'jwmd' 'crowned sons' *M 133, 93*; Chr. *γrft 'dyt* 'many people' *i 29, 8*; S. *'nytt yw'krytt* 'other merchants' *T ii D 77 (A I) 19*; &c.

1243. (b) Predicative. *βnd š'twxt* 'they will be happy' *BBB f 84*; *t'wndyt xnd* 'are powerful' *M 178 i V 25*; *prš'tyt qšn'wt 'ty pystyt xnd* 'are decorated, beautiful, and adorned' *ib. 26 sq.*; *nyz'wrs(tr)t 'tyħ pryttrt 'ym* 'we are weaker and wearier (cf. § 1285)' *M 635 i 3 sq.*; *š'nwxt zprt ptyynd'rmykt xnd* 'are happy, pure, and pleasant' *M 617 ii 9 sq.*; *s't wysprtnynytt xnd* 'are covered with all kinds of jewels', v. H., *BSOS viii 584*; *βwδ'ndyt wβym* '(if only) we were nice-smelling' *T ii D 139 i 13*.

1240<sup>1</sup> [On *zβnd* v. now H., *BSOAS* xi 715.]

## 1244. (2) Accusative.

## (i) No ending.

(a) Attributive. *šmnwq'ny nyzβ'nytt*, v. § 1245; S. *pr mywn βr'wm'y'n 'wt'kt ZY knšt* 'in all Byzantine provinces and towns' *T M 389 a R 35*. [*βr'wm'y'n*, conceivably with Plur. ending (H.).]

1245. (b) Predicative. *šmnwq'ny nyzβ'nytt . . . ptwystyy ny jytwδ'rm* 'I have not kept the devilish passions turned away' *BBB 639 sqq.*; *m'yδ c'nw 'tyfn xwty prwyrtt š'twx 'ty šyrm'nyy* 'so that it may make you happy' *BBB f 60 sq.*

## 1246. (ii) -t.

(a) Attributive. *ptynytt tmb'rt* 'fleshly bodies' *BBB 564*; *'ww rwδnytt βyyšt* 'copper gods' *BSOS viii 584*; *'nytt . . . δβr* 'other doors', v. § 1676; Chr. *nytt bntyty* 'other servants' *i 20, 3*; *βwytt'r-mykt rw'nd* 'patient souls' *M 378, 13*; S. *γrft ywt'wt ZY . . . p'mpwštth 'ty ywt'yntħ* 'many kings and queens' *T M 389 a V 35 sq.*; Chr. *γrft'yšt* 'many things' *i 37, 4*; &c.

1247. (b) Predicative. *qr'nd kwn* 'make them clean' *M 178 ii R 1*.

## 1248. (3) Oblique.

(a) No ending. *'skwncyk xwyštrty* 'the present superiors' *Man. Lett. ii 11*; *iv mzyx γrty* 'four big mountains' *Kaw. G 21*; *c'wn tmyg γrty* 'from the hellish mountains' *M 118 i R 17 sq.*

1249. (b) -t. *'skwncykt xwyštrty* 'the present superiors' *Man. Lett. ii 10*; *cn w'ndt tmykt dywtyy* 'from those hellish demons' *M 178 ii V 17*; *wnyy ptyynytt tmb'rtty* 'flesh-bodies' *M 140 V 5*; *t'wndyy mzyxt γrty'h*, v. § 1641; *nyjynytt βyyšty* 'emanated gods' *M 118 i V 9*; &c.

1250. (c) -ty (rare). S. *rm yypdyt [sic] mr['zt]* 'with his assistants' *T M 389 a R 23*; substantivized, *zprttyy 'nwtt 'ty zyrttyy 'p'y* 'protection for the pure ones, meditation for the wise' *M 172 R 5*.

1251. (4) Vocative. Chr. *fryt br'trtty* 'dear brethren' *ii 6, 18*; S. *prytty* 'dear ones' *T ii D 77 (A I) 34*.

## \*-aka- Stems

1252. Normally the Singular has -yy throughout, except for -' in the Vocative, and occasionally in the Ablative. The Plural has -yt(y). B. texts sometimes have an Oblique ending -'y, and Plurals in -'t and -'n. On the -aka- stem Plural of Singulars without suffix, v. § 970; on the Oblique in -kyy and the Plural in -kt, v. §§ 986 sq.

1253. (i) Singular (apart from the ordinary -yy).

(1) Vocative. Man. 'xšywn' 'lord' *M* 410, 5. *M* 891, 7, Chr. xšywn' ii 5, 5; Man. nfryt' 'accursed' *T* i D; Chr. 'y šyr'qt' bnf' 'oh good servant' i 47, 6; Chr. B. z't' 'son' ii 5, 1. 3. *VJ* 24\* (but z't *VJ* 1095).

1254. (2) B. Oblique in -yy. ptrβ'y 'stick' *DN* 11 (ptrβ'k ib. 72); 'ndm'y 'limb' *DN* 28; perhaps 'wš'y kyr'n 'East' *Dhy* 113, which, however, could also be the Oblique of an \*-ākā- stem (cf. § 1266). Cf. also § 905 fn.

1255. (3) Ablative in -. cn 'δ'h, v. § 1562; spyn'w 'sin', v. § 1082; B. šrm' 'anger' *SCE* 326, cf. § 1097.

1256. (ii) Plural.

(1) Nominative-Accusative.

(a) -yt. mrtxmyt' 'men', cytyt' 'ghosts', &c., -yt' i TM 343

1257. (b) B. -t = -ēt (H.). mrtym'tt *SCE* 526. 531; 'sp's'tt 'servants' *Dhy* 90.

1258. (2) Oblique. mrtxmytyy, cytytyy, &c.

1259. (3) Vocative.

(a) -yty. Chr. nfrytyty 'accursed ones' i 26, 6; B. z'tyty 'children' *VJ* 1103.

1260. (b) B. -tty (possibly Voc. Sg. + Pl. ending). z'tty 'children' *VJ* 1098. 1106; šyr'nk'r'tty 'pious ones' *Dhu* 81.

1261. (4) Old Genitive in -ān (cf. §§ 1189. 1207. 1230). B. mrtym'n ywt'w 'king of men' *VJ* 1048 (cf. § 969, end).

### \*-ākā- Stems, and heavy stems in -' of different origin (cf. § 971)

1262. Nom. and Abl. -, other Oblique cases -y, Acc. -' or -y (rare), Pl. -yt or -t (rare). The Oblique of -y' stems (v. § 1111), usually not expressed, can be marked by the addition of the ordinary Oblique ending -y to the final -, when its omission would lead to syntactical confusion. This procedure is also sporadically used with the -y' nouns described in § 948, and with other nouns in -'.

1263. (i) Singular.

(1) Nominative-Accusative. All the examples quoted § 973.

(2) Accusative in -y. x[']nyy *M* 110 ii V 7, Chr. x'ny i 31, 16, 'house'.

1264. (3) Ablative. q'γδ' 'paper' *BBB* p. 65 on 527; jn' 'knowledge' *M* 133, 57; šm'r' 'thought' *M* 133, 82; γrδ' 'neck' *T* ii D 62, 7.

1265. (4) Oblique.

(a) -y. Man. (')ms(y)y 'obedience' *T* ii D 66, 1, 26; Chr. x'ny 'house' i 36, 16; Chr. p[']q'ry 'appearance, face' i 31, 8; Chr. qwcy 'mouth' i 48, 18; B. δ'm'y 'net' *P* 2, 273.

1266. (b) -' + -y. βwr't'rmyky'y 'patience', γrβ'ky'y 'wisdom', *BBB* 636 sq.; S. ptk'r'y 'appearance' *T* ii D 93 h V 6; Chr. wr' 'y' 'profit' i 49, 2; Man. šyry'kty'y *BBB* 627, S. šyr'krty'y *T* M 389 a V 12, 'good deed, merit' (Nom. šyr'k(r)ty').

1267. (c) The Gen. q'γδy' 'paper' in *BBB* 527, may have been prompted by the preceding cyny'. 2wylh j'm'le.h skwty SCE

1268. (ii) Plural.

(1) -yt. šndyt 'teeth' *M* 142 V 5, B. šnt'yt *VJ* 546; Chr. x'nyt 'houses' i 42, 6. ii 3, 27; S. β'z[']yt 'arms' *T* M 389 a R 14; B. p'styt *Frg* iii 51. 56 (Sg. Man. p'st', § 973), meaning not clear [cf. H., *BSOAS* xi 728].

1269. (2) -'t-. 'ms'tyy p[']βystyy 'bound in obedience(s)' *M* 116 R 8; B. pr'tt' (with wrong -') 'banners' *Dhy* 98 (Nom. Sg. pr'', cf. Benv., *Notes* ii 224).

1270. Conspectus.

### A. Light-stem substantives and adjectives

		Masc.	Fem.		Neuter
			Subst.	Adj.	
Singular	Nom.	-y 1168. 1191	-' 1170. 1193		-w 1169. 1192
	Acc.	-w 1171. 1194	-w 1169		-w 1172. 1195
		-y 1174. 1197	-w 1173. 1196		
	Voc.	-' 1176. 1203	-' 1175		
	Gen. Dat.	-y 1177. 1198	-y' 1178	-y 1198	
	Abl.	-' 1179. 1199	-' 1180. 1199		
	P.I. Loc.	-y 1179 fn. 1200 -' 1182. 1201	-y' 1181		
			-y' 1183. 1202		
Plural	Nom.-Acc.	Substantives		Adjectives	
		-yšt 1186 -yšt' B. -y' 1187	-' 1184. 1204 -' 1185. 1205		
	Obl.	-ty' 1188		-' (Abl.) 1206 -n 1189. 1207	

## B. The other stems

		Heavy	-aka-	-āka-
Singular	Nom.-Acc.	- 1218. 1232-5	-y 960	-y 973
	Acc.	-y 1219. 1236	-y 960	-y 1263
	Voc.	-y 1222	-y 1253	
	General Obl.	- 1220. 1237	-y 960	-y 1265
	Abl.	-y 1221. 1238	B. -y 1254	-y 1266
	P.I.	-y (Fem.) 1224. 1239	-y 1255	-y 1264
Plural	Nom.-Acc.	- (Adj.) 1240 sq. 1244 sq. -t 1225. 1242 sq. 1246 sq. (B. -yšt 1230 a) -ty 1226	-yt 1256 B. -yt 1257	-yt 1268 -t- 1269
	Acc. Voc.	-t(y) 1229. 1251	-yty 1259 B. -yty 1260	
	Obl.	- (Adj.) 1248 -t 1227. 1249 -ty 1228. 1250 -n 1230	-yt 1249 -yty 1258 -n 1261	-ty 1269

## Feminine of \*-aka- stem adjectives

(On \*-aka- adjectives not changing in the Feminine, v. § 1643)

1271. The ending -yy of the Sg. Masc. is replaced by -c' with light stems, -c with heavy stems, v. H., BSOS viii 586, BBB p. 56 fn. 1, and, on the origin of this ending, above, § 247 fn. 4.

A final -t of the stem need not be spelled before c. A final -n of the stem is sometimes dropped before c, cf. § 334.

1272. (i) Light stems. 'kic' 'done' BBB e 14, Masc. 'kityy'; 'stβic' 'cruel', Masc. 'stβityyh', v. § 157; 'prwsc' 'turned' T i D 51, Masc. 'prwstyy'; 'ptrysc' 'mixed' M 178 ii V 22, Masc. 'ptrystyy'; 'ptsyc' 'arranged' M 178 i V 7, B. 'pts'ytch, Masc. 'ptsyttyy'; 'šwkc' nβtc[h] 'dry and moist' BBB 486, Masc. 'šqwyy' ty nβtyy BBB f 59.

1273. (ii) Heavy stems. 'nyttic' 'whole, all' M 178 i V 2, S. 'ytc, Chr. 'yc, cf. § 335; 'wswwc' 'pure' M 178 i R 10, 'wswwc M 429, 2 (cf. § 56), Masc. 'wswwtyy'; Chr. 'brync' 'having', v. § 891; 'δ'rwkync and [δ'r]wqyc 'vegetable', v. § 334, Masc. \*δ'rwkynyy; 'frnzwundc' 'happy', Masc. 'frnzwundyy'; B. 'ywδ'ynch 'faecal', v. § 1053; -krc, Fem. of -kryy, in ryjgrc, NPR., M 1, 143, 'wrcwnkrc' 'miraculous' M 178 ii R 13, &c.; 'nrcync' 'deadly', Masc. 'nrcynyy'; 'n'klync' 'of silver' M 137 V 15, Masc. 'n'klynyy'; 'nwšc' 'immortal', Masc. 'nwšyy'; 'ptw'c 'dry' BBB 491, Masc. 'ptw'tyy'; 't'rc 'dark' v. § 967; 'wt[š]nc' 'old, worn out' M 521 a 2, Masc. 'wtšnyy'; 'wyδwc' 'yinc' 'widow', § 931, Masc. \*wyδwyy;

Chr. 'xšwnc' 'queen' ii 1, 16. 28, Masc. Chr. 'xšwny' 'king' ST ii; 'zrywnc' 'green', Masc. 'zrywnyy', v. § 1113; 'zyrnync' 'golden' M 137 V 14, Masc. B. 'zyrnyn'y'; &c. On 'ptryδdc' v. § 1239. Cf. also the Feminines in -'nc mentioned in §§ 1040. 1043-1048.

## Special Feminine endings

1274. (1) The names of the months occurring in Sogdian texts appear to be Feminine adjectives referring to the substantive m'x 'month',<sup>1</sup> usually implied, while the forms quoted by al-Beruni are substantives<sup>2</sup> (v. H.'s comparative list in *Orientalia*, viii 94).

1275. Hence, the following can be recognized as Feminine adjective endings:

(a) -c, in βyk'nc No. 7, 'b'nc No. 8.

(b) -yc, in n'wsrdyc No. 1, nysnyc No. 3, Uyghur ps'kyc No. 4, šn'xntyc No. 5, S. mzy'yyntych No. 6, S. tymych No. 10, Man. jyntyyc No. 11, (?) xšwmyc No. 12.

(c) -c alternating with -yc, in [xwrj]ncm'x Sogd. 27, 20: xwrjnyyc No. 2; βwyc: βwyyyc No. 9; myšβwyc: myšβwyyyc No. 10.

(d) -'nc, in xz'n'nc, yz'n'nc, No. 6, possibly connected, acc. to H., with Pers. xazān 'autumn'.

While (d) should be the Feminine of a suffix \*-ānaka-, the other three are not clear. (c) representing -ič, may be considered an early form of the Feminine suffix -č < \*-ikā- for Masculines in \*-aka- (cf. § 247 fn. 4). (b) may be the same as (c), or else represent -i/ēč (cf. §§ 1276 sq.?). (a) could be the same as (c), or, perhaps more likely, as (d), by haplology from \*βyk'n'nc, \*\*b'n'nc.

1276. (2) βypwryc 'divine virgin', Pl. βypwryšt (§ 260), S. \*pwryc 'virgin', Fem. of βypwry and \*pūr or \*pūre respectively, v. BBB p. 73.

1274<sup>1</sup> While m'x 'moon' appears to be masculine (B. ZK rywšny m'γ Dhu 268), there is no further clear evidence to indicate the gender of m'x 'month'. In Sogdian writing it sometimes has a final -h, but more often not. Examples noted are:

m'yh Dhu 229. 231. 269.

m'ygh Intox. Sūtra 35.

m'y Dhu 231. 248<sup>bis</sup>. 254. 255. 264<sup>bis</sup>. VJ 38.

m'yy Dhu 239.

m'yw Dhu 229 (Anc. Lett. m'zw).

OIr. mäh- 'month' is masculine, but Khot. māsta 'month' is Feminine (E 25, 201), and so is Pašto miyāst (Morgenstierne, EVP 49).

1274<sup>2</sup> With the exception of 'b'nc No. 8 = Man. 'b'nc, and, perhaps, of 'šn'and' No. 5, mzyand' No. 6, and žymd' No. 11, which may have a Feminine ending -d. Al-Beruni knew also the adjective forms in -č, cf. Salemann, Izv., 1913, 1133 fn. 10.

1277. (3) *δyw'styyc(y) δ'myy*, Loc., § 1439, *δyw'styc δ'm* *M* 664, 27, 'demoniac creation, world of demons'. To be separated from the NPr. S. *δyw'styc*, cf. H., *Orientalia*, viii 88.

1278. (4) *w' m'ym xwrmztyc δ'm*, Acc., 'the whole creation of *xwrmz'*' *JRAS*, 1944, 142, 4 sq.; not necessarily Fem. in *x[wr]mztyc kwtr* 'family, descendants of Kh.' *M* 358, 4.

1279. (5) Contamination of the normal Masculine and Feminine endings of the Pres. Partc. *-ne* and *-nč*, has produced the Fem. Partc. Chr. *wyθrbnync (wiθarβanənc)* i 37, 4, from *\*wyθrb-* 'to worry'. Such a formation may have been encouraged by Feminines like *-kr'nc* from *-kryy*, § 1044.

### Comparative and Superlative

1280. Apart from a few special old forms, the suffixes are: *-tr*, added to light and heavy stems, but not to *-aka-* stems.<sup>1</sup> Comparative and (rarely) superlative.

1281. *-str*, added to heavy stems (including *\*-aka-* stems) only (on Chr. *fry str* v. § 1297). Comparative and superlative. This suffix derives, acc. to H., from the OIr. comparative of adjectives in *-ah-*, cf. Av. *parō.arəjastara-* and others. For other Iranian languages cf. Khwār. *sn'dk-'str (snādakistar)* 'cleaner (more washed)' (H.), and Parth. *'sk'drystr* *T ii D* 129.

1282. *-'tr*, *-ātar*. Cf. MPers. *thm'tr* *BBB*, Parth. *qs'dr*, *ms'dr*, *Mir. Man.* iii. In Sogdian this suffix is only used after *y*, v. §§ 1291 sqq., which at least in three of the examples concerned is the *y* of the OIr. comparative suffix *-yah-*.

*-tm*. Superlative.

1283. The inflexional elements added to the comparative (superlative) in *-tr-* of light stems, are, as far as attested, *-y* for the Nom.-Acc. Singular (v. § 1284), and *-t'* for the Plural (v. § 1286). In the other comparatives and superlatives the only inflexional mark is the Plural ending *-t*.

A final *t* of the stem is not spelled before the *t* of the suffix, cf. § 81, 3.

1284. (1) *-tr*, comparative.

(a) Light stems. *pt'sytryy* 'more adorned, better equipped' *T ii K* (So. 64), belonging to the Past Partc. *pt'sytyy*; *rwxsndryy*

1280<sup>1</sup> On *msydr* v. § 1298. *\*-aka-* Past Participles, when used as adjectives, often have a comparative made directly from the OIr. Past Participle, v. § 531 fn., and cf. e.g. *ptrštr* (§ 1285) with *skrtyst* (§ 1288).

*M* 264 A 25, from *rwxsšn-* 'luminous'; *'trytryh* 'more depressed' *Sogd.* 17, 20, belonging to the Past Partc. *trytyy* (cf. the abstract *tryty'q*, § 1110); S. *'trytry* 'swifter' *T M* 389 a R 2. 5, acc. to H. from a light-stem adjective *\*trax- < \*taχra-* (*Nātk*); B. *y'rttry*, *y'rttry*, 'wider', from *y'rt-*, v. § 518.

1285. (b) Heavy stems. *'sk'tr*, adv., 'more, further', lit. 'higher', from *'sk'*, v. § 1215; Man. *ywtr*, Chr. *ywtr*, from *yw* 'one', v. § 1318; B. *β's . . . β's . . . β'str* *'tantôt . . . tantôt* *Vim* 128-30; *δwtr* *M* 857, 3, B. *δwtr* *Dhy* 108. 119, 'more distant', from *δwtr*; *y'rttr* 'later', adv., *BBB*, from *y'yr* 'late', adv., *M* 127 V 6. *M* 579, 7; *n'mrtr* 'sweeter', § 1306, from *n'mryh*, v. *BBB* p. 97 top; B. *pnr* 'nearer' *VJ* 924, from B. *pnt*; *prytrt*, Pl., 'wearier' (H.) v. § 1243; *'prš'tr* 'better prepared' *T ii K* (So. 64), belonging to the Past Partc. *prš'tyy*; *ptrštr* 'more exalted', § 1306, belonging to the Past Partc. *ptrštyy* 'erected' *Sogd.* 52, 6, cf. Chr. *ptrzty* 'high' i 45, 16 (on the rhythmic value of *ptršt-* v. § 176); *škwrdtr* Pl., *T ii D* 117, 43, from *škwrd* 'difficult'; B. *twytr* 'quicker' *VJ* 799. 1072, from *twy*, v. § 254; Chr. *xw'tr*, § 1306, from Man. *xw't* 'weak'; Man. *zprttr* *T ii K* (So. 64), from *zprt* 'pure'. [v. Addenda.]

1286. (2) *-tr*, superlative. *βyjttr* *'ty stštrt'* 'most wicked and cruel', v. § 1641, from *βyj-* (light stem) and *'stštyy* (*\*-aka-* stem, cf. § 1280 fn.); cf. also *kštrt'*, § 1300. [v. Addenda.]

1287. (3) *-tr* + suffix. *'sk'tryq* *M* 617 i 26, *sk'tryk* *T ii D* 167 iii 7, 'higher, more', adj., cf. § 1215.

1288. (4) *-str*.

(a) Comparative. B. *'βz'ykwstr* 'more wretchedly', v. § 423; Man. *βystr*, Chr. *bysttr* 'further away', from *βyk*, v. § 463; *c'δrstr*, *c'str* 'lower, under', from *c'δr* 'below, under', v. § 459; Chr. *yrb'q str* 'more reasonable', § 1306; *ny'zngstr* 'different' *M* 264 A 6; *nyz'wrstrt* Pl., 'weaker', v. § 1243; Chr. *pc'y'y str* 'more salutary', v. § 199; *pc'wδ'ywnystr* 'more revolting', v. § 1306; Man. Chr. B. *pyrnmstr* 'before, formerly' *Man. Lett.* ii 17. *ST ii* 1, 92. 10, 21, cf. also § 1305; *rystr* 'smaller'; *'skrtyst(r)* 'more triumphant' *Sogd.* 35, 13, from *skrttyy* *T ii D* 207, 27. [v. Addenda.]

1289. (b) Superlative. *'yrtyst* 'most fertile' *Sogd.* 29, 6; *βjng'rystrt* Pl., 'most sinful' *M* 178 ii V 18; *yw'nkryyst* *jkrystr*,

1285<sup>1</sup> The positive is *pryt* 'weary' *BBB* 713 (differently H: 3 Sg. Pass. Pret.). Cf. § 529, 5.

1288<sup>1</sup> From *\*ryt*, or *\*rytyy*? Cf. Pahl. *rētak* 'young', Bailey, *BSOS* vii 70 sq. H. (who regards *rystr* as shortened from *\*rynckstr*, v. *BBB* p. 134<sup>a</sup>) also points out the abstract B. *rytry* *P* 6, 192, *rytryh* *P* 12, 33, opposite to *prtry'kh*.

id., *BBB* 554 sq.; B. *knpý'strh* 'particularly short' *P* 2, 433, < *knpý*, § 1302; S. *wrcý'str* 'most soothing' *X* 1 i V 21, from *wrcý* 'appeased'.

1290. (c) Comparative or superlative. *frtr'str* *M* 894 i 4, from *frtr*, v. § 437, cf. Parth. *'frdrystr* 'prior', H., *BSOS* ix 80; *myndyr-β'kstr* *M* 655, 1, from *myndyrβ'k* 'unwise'; B. *γwy'rstr*, v. § 1303, from B. *γwy'r* *Dhu* 90, cf. S. *γwy'r γwy'r* 'in detail' *X* 1 i R 3 sq. *P* 3, 29. 97; B. *'yw pyrnmstr*, v. § 1305; Man. *δβnstr* *T* i a (*Par.* 51), from *\*δβnz* 'wide, thick', cf. B. *wδβnz* § 1310, Man. *δβ'nzq'wy* § 999.

1291. (5) -tr, cf. § 1282. On *'sk'tr* v. § 1215.

(a) *fry'tr* *M* 116 R 9, context not clear. Either from *fry-* 'dear', or side-form<sup>1</sup> of

(b) *fy'tr* 'more'. Cf. § 321.

1292. (c) Man. *msy'tr* 'longer', quoted § 1241, B. *msy'tr* 'greater' *VJ* 234. *Dhy* 86, cf. Av. *masyah-*. On *msyδr* v. § 1298.

1293. (d) Chr. *mzy'tr't* *'yštý* Pl., 'greater things' *B* 49, 24, cf. Av. *mazyah-*.

1294. (e) *šy'tr* 'sweeter' *M* 137 R 11 (on the ending v. § 974), B. *šy'tr* 'delightful' *DN* 50. 70. Origin not clear, the -š- may belong to the stem of the positive. [v. Addenda.]

1295. (6) -tm. Man. *βγ'n βxłm* (Abl.) § 254, B. *βγ'n βxłm*, 'godliest of the gods', used to translate Skt. *devātideva* (on the rhythmic value of *βxłm*, v. § 528); B. *nyxłm* 'deepest', cf. *BBB* p. 104 on f 56. On S. *prxłm* v. § 1297. [v. Addenda.]

1296. (7) -tm+suffix. B. *'sk'tmcyk* 'highest' or 'most' *P* 3, 104, cf. § 1215. Cf. also *ftmcyk* and *'ftmyk* 'first', § 1331.

1297. (8) Special forms.

(i) The comparative and superlative of the light stem *fry-* 'dear', are the heavy *fry'tr* from *\*fryatara-*, S. *prxłm* from *\*fryatama-*, quoted § 1207, cf. § 493 sq. The superlative Chr. (*fr*)y *str* i 79, 7 (contrary to § 1281) is a late analogical form. On *fry'tr* v. § 1291.

1298. (ii) Chr. *msyδrd* Pl., ii 3, 33, Man. *msyδr* *M* 337, 3, 'presbyter' (cf. § 269 sq.), from the *\*-aka-* stem B. *m's'y* *VJ* 1132, *m's'k* *VJ* 50. *SCE* 31, *m's'kw* *VJ* 837, 'old', seemingly contrary to § 1280, can be explained as due to dissimilation from *\*msysr* [or as *LW* ? (H.)].

1299<sup>1</sup> In *T* ii *D* 207, 23, where one expects the usual hendiadys *'sk'tr fy'tr* 'more', the MS. has *'sk'tr f[.]'tr*, with a gap requiring two letters, surmounted by a dot. To be restored *f[ry]'tr*?

1299. (iii) Three old superlatives have been extended by the suffix *-tara-*.

(a) B. *βr'yštr* 'more' or 'most' *Dhu* 279, from Av. *fraēšta-*<sup>1</sup>

1300. (b) Man. *kštr't* Pl. Nom. or Acc., *M* 116 R 10, Chr. *qštr't* Pl. Abl., i 26, 3,<sup>1</sup> superlative of B. (?)*ks-* 'small, thin', from Av. *kasišta-*.

1301. (c) Man. *xwyštr*, B. *γwyštr*, Man. Chr. *xwštr*, 'superior, presbyter', from Av. *hvōišta-*, v. § 230.

1302. (iv) Man. *kmbyy* 'imperfect, mean, less, short of one's duty' *M* 116 R 4, Pl. *kmbyt* Man. Lett. ii 15, ii *qmbyy xxx* '28', v. H., *JRAS*, 1942, 243, B. *'yw knpy* *L* '49' *P* 6, 106. 111. 133. 134. 138. 140. &c. (ref. by H.), B. *knpý βw-* 'to be scarce, short',<sup>1</sup> explained by H. as from OIr. *\*kambyah-* (v. § 493 fn.), comparative of *kamna-* (Sogdian *kβn-*, v. § 1211), cf. Hübschmann, *Pers. Stud.*, 88 (Differently Benv., *Notes* iv 516). On the abstract *qmbwnyh* v. § 1087 fn. On the superlative B. *knpý'strh* v. § 1289.

1303. (9) Superlative other than by means of a suffix.

(i) With the prefix *tr-*, v. § 1144.

(ii) By prefixing to an adjective, or a comparative (superlative), *cw*, *'δprm* (§ 1567), or *'yw*. This construction is not found in Man. or Chr.

(a) *cw*, cf. H., *BBB* p. 81 on 674. S. *cw γrβw (p'zy) w'γš* 'quam plurimis (paucissimis) verbis'; B. *cw γwy'rstr* 'très exactement' (Benv., *Notes* ii 238), cf. § 1290. Cf. also the employment of *cw* in § 1144<sup>a</sup>.

1304. (b) *'δprmh c'δrcyk* 'tout à fait inférieur' *SCE* 209; *'δprm prtr*, v. § 437 fn. 1.

1305. (c) *'yw pyrnmstr* *VJ* 60<sup>b</sup>. 383. *P* 2, 80, 'as soon as possible, first of all', v. Benv., *Notes* iv 510.

(iii) The Elative *i*, v. § 1310.

1306. (10) The second term of a comparison is introduced by *cn* or Chr. *qd*, if it is a noun or a pronoun, by *c'nw*, if it is a clause.

(a) *cn. cn s't βγ[yštý . . .] ptrštr* 'more exalted than all (other) gods' *M* 264 A 13 sq.; *cn škr' n'mrtr* 'sweeter than sugar', v. *BBB* p. 80 on 662; *cywyδ pcrwδγwnystr* 'more revolting than this' *M* 140 V 11 sq.; Chr. *xw'tr . . . cn p'try* 'weaker than his father' ii 5, 11;

1299<sup>1</sup> Cf. Man. *fryštwrz* NPr., *M* 1, 82, 'the most miraculous one' ? But *fryšt* could also be the Past stem of 'to send'.

1300<sup>1</sup> Misquoted in *ST* ii, 587<sup>a</sup> top. In Freiman, *Sbornik*, 38, No. 19. B 16, read *kštr* instead of *kstr* 'inferior' (H.).

1302<sup>1</sup> Personal construction, cf. Benv., loc. cit., 515 sq., v. §§ 1549 sq.

Chr. *γrb'q str . . . cn . . . 'žwnē* 'more reasonable than the children' i 43, 16.

1307. (b) Chr. *qd' sdwm 't . . . γmw' z'y pc'y' str bwlg' . . . qd' xyd kθ* 'it shall be more tolerable for the land of Sodom and Gomorrha, than for that city' i 5, 2 sq., cf. § 199.

1308. (c) *c'nw.<sup>1</sup> frtr c'nw . . . xwcy xwrē xwryy* 'better than eating nice food' *M* 117, 12-14; B. *prtr . . . c'n'kw* 'rather than', v. § 1692 (cf. also § 822, 2).

### Elative

1309. (1) This formation, to which a cursory reference was made by Benveniste, *Notes* iv 517 sq., is used for placing a deictic emphasis on the meaning of an adjective or adverb. Three types can be distinguished:

- i. The adjective (adverb) is preceded by *w'-*, from the demonstrative stem *awa-*.
- ii. *-(')st* is added to the adjective (adverb) prefixed by *w'-*, or by its correlative *c'-*, cf. § 1582.
- iii. The suffix is *-t*, the prefix is as in ii, except before *s*, where it appears as *wt-*,<sup>1</sup> from Av. *avat*, Neuter of *avant*.<sup>2</sup>

1310. (2) Elative i. Prefix *w'-*. S. *w' z'ry γn'βy* 'he lamented so pitifully' *T ii T* 10; B. *w' δβ'nz* 'so wide' *P* 2, 1018, cf. § 1290; S. *w'wyspw* 'so complete' *T iii* 263 i 13, *w'wspyw* *Anc. Lett.* (v. *BBB* p. 73; on the following *wyspdr* v. § 440 fn.).

1311. (3) Elative ii. Suffix *-(')st*.

(a) Prefix *w'-*. B. *w' z'ry'st γn'β'y* 'she lamented so p.' *VJ* 1111; B. *w' βyz'nk'r'k'st* 'so very sinful' *P* 7, 119 sq.; B. *w'βyz'γwksth* 'so unhappy' *VJ* 822 (v. *JRAS*, 1942, 99); B. *w'] z'wrkynst* 'so strong' *T iii* § 23 (2) ii 2.

1312. (b) Prefix *c'-*. B. *c' z'ry'st* 'how pitiful' *VJ* 1100; B. *c' βyz'γwksth* 'how unhappy' *VJ* 825.

1308<sup>1</sup> Cf. Pers. *agar pādīšā dīde xwāhad zi-man . . . ma-rā xwārtar čun si farzand-i xwēš na-bīnam* 'if the king should ask my eyes from me, it would be of less account to me than if I should not see my three daughters' *ŠN* 6 (Vullers i 69), 136 sq. (*zān ki* variant of *čun si*).

1309<sup>1</sup> As there are no adjectives beginning with *s-* amongst the examples for the Elatives i and ii, one cannot say whether the replacement of *w'-* by *wt-* takes place also in these two types. It is unfortunate that the end of the gloss MPers. *cyrtum . . . (w) [Sogd. 36, 18, is missing, since the adjective used was most probably skrtty.*

1309<sup>2</sup> From which derives Sogdian *wntn*, which is used like the Elative particle *w'-* in S. *wntn z'ry γn'β(y)* *T ii T* 4 = *w' z'ry*, § 1310. Cf. § 1609.

1313. (4) Elative iii. Suffix *-t*.

(a) Prefix *w'-*. B. *w'βr'kt* 'so early' *VJ* 1088; B. *w'pryt* *VJ* 1378, *w'βryt* *VJ* 1455 'so dear'; B. *w'p'r'γzt* *Dhu* 292. *T iii S* 313, 10, *w'pry'zt* [sic] *Vim* 42, 'so excellent'; Man. *w' ptzm'ndt* 'so fed up' *T ii D* 62, 3 sq.; B. *w'šwβtt* 'so close, narrow' (H.) *P* 2, 1016; B. *w't'w'ntt* 'so strong' *Dhy* 216; B. *w'twyt* 'so quick' *T iii S* 313, 9, cf. § 254. [*w'pryt*, v. Addenda.]

1314. (b) Prefix *c'-*. B. *c' (827) βyzt* *VJ* 'how bad' [sic], cf. Man. *βyjt γrm* 'how badly hot' *M* 674, 6; *c'twzt* 'how fast' *M* 635 i 9, from *twy*, cf. § 254.

1315. (c) Prefix *wt-*. B. *wtsp'ytt* 'so white' *Dhy* 209. 221. 258, from B. *'sp'yt*, cf. § 969; B. *wtsk'tt* 'so high' *P* 2, 1020, from *'sk'*, cf. § 1215.

### NUMERALS

#### Cardinals

1316. (i)

1 Man. *'yw*, Chr. *yw*, B. *'yw*, v. §§ 1317-19.

2 Man. B. *'δw BBB* c 7. *VJ* 374. *SCE* 189; Man. B. *'δw' BBB* 673. *M* 684, 15. *O<sup>1</sup>* 4. 14; Man. B. *δw' M* 127 R 12. *VJ* 96, Chr. *dw' i* 9, 6. 45, 7; Man. B. *δyβnw*, B. *δβnw* 'both'; compound form B. *δyβ-*; v. § 1320.

3 Man. *'dry M* 137 V 12, *'dryy M* 502 I 7, B. *dry*, Chr. *šy*.

4 Man. Chr. *ctf'r*, B. *ctβ'r*, v. § 295; compound form B. *čarθ-*, v. § 440. *št'β' 85T II*

5 *pnc*; on *pnž* v. § 65.

6 Chr. *xwšw i* 15, 3, B. *wγwšw VJ* 33, v. § 417 fn. 1. [v. Add.]

7 B. *'βt VJ* 7, and on top of folio 7 R (ed. p. 178<sup>1</sup>); otherwise Man. B. *'βt* or *'βp*, but only before *myδ* 'day' (for 'week'), and in compounds, where the *-t* of *'βp-* could be a compound vowel, and *'βt-* could stand for *avda*. Cf. Man. B. *'βtkyšp-*, § 147, B. *'βtrtn'yynch* 'having seven jewels' *VJ* 18<sup>b</sup>, B. *'yw βt myδ* 'one week' *Dhy* 33, against Man. *k[wu βt] myδ pr[m* 'for one week' *T ii D* 66 b 5, B. *'βt myδ VJ* 874, S. *'βp 1LPW* '7000' *T ii D* 79 (2) R 6.

8 B. only. *'št VJ* folio 8R top (ed. p. 182<sup>1</sup>), *C'št* '108' *Padm* 45. 47; otherwise cf. *'št wkry* 'consisting of eight types' *Dhu* 255. 256, *'št 1LPW* '8000' *T iii S* 313, 2, against *'št RYPW* '80.000' *ST ii* 9, 14. 15. [*C'št* also *P* 8, 62.]

9 B. *nw' VJ* ed. p. 186<sup>1</sup> Cf. also B. *nw' 100 VJ* 717, *nw' nw't* '99' *P* 7, 14. [*nw 1LPW nw RYPW* '99-000' *P* 8, c 4.]

10 Man. *δs' M* 796 i 16, Chr. *ds' i* 47, 5. 8, S. *δs T ii D* 79 (2) V 4. 5.

1316<sup>1</sup> [Benveniste's ed. pp. 9. 12. 16 respectively.]

- 11 Chr. [ywł]snw Acc. i 53, 3.  
 12 Man. δwł's Nom., *M* 14 V 17, Chr. dwł'snw Abl., i 78, 14, cf. § 1318.  
 15 Man. pncł's<sup>w</sup>h *T* ii D 66, 1, 16. 16 xwł's<sup>w</sup>ts B5TII  
 18 Chr. šts i 41, 3.  
 30 Man. šys *M* 548, 1. 40 šł's<sup>w</sup> B5TII  
 50 Chr. pnc's i 43, 10, B. \*pnc'snw.<sup>2</sup> 60 xwł's<sup>w</sup>šty B5TII  
 70 Man. 'βrł *M* 178 i V 29.  
 80 Chr. šł's i 43, 13.  
 90 B. nwł *P* 7, 14.  
 100 Chr. šlw Nom.-Acc. i 43, 9, 12; Abl. Man. st' (quoted § 1667), B. rm st' 'with 100' *T* i a (2) 3; compound B. stp'sk 'centiped' *P* 6, 9.  
 200 Chr. dwyst ii 1, 82; B. 'δwy 100 *VJ* 5<sup>c</sup>, 'δw 100 *VJ* 62<sup>c</sup>.<sup>3</sup>  
 300 Chr. šyst ii 1, 82.  
 1000 z'r.  
 10.000 βrywr, v. § 362.  
 100.000 Man. *C* z'r *T* ii D 139 ii 5.

## 1317. (ii) 'yw.

(a) 'yw is used in several compounds and idioms: B. 'yw 'yh 'always' *DN* 76. *P* 2, 165; B. prw 'yw 'pct 'at once', v. § 179; B. 'yw'rδkw 'sincere', v. § 423; 'yw c'f 'several', v. § 1586; B. 'yw ywncyδ 'just so, just as', v. § 1109; 'yw qł'm 'any', v. § 1554; 'yw m'wn 'altogether'; i p'ryq 'altogether', v. § 1116; *I* p't, v. § 1327; 'ywp'zky', *Man. Lett.* ii 16, not clear; B. 'yw pyrnwstr 'as soon as possible', v. § 1305; B. 'yw st'γ sr'k, v. § 1108; S. 'yw t'c 'alone', v. § 1127; 'yw wšyy 'alone', v. § 299; B. oznk 'such', v. § 1109.

(b) On 'yw in enumerations, v. § 1332.

(c) On 'yw δβt- 'each other', v. §§ 1334-6.

1318. (d) The comparative of 'yw is used in kδ(°)m 'ywł[r 'which (of several)' *Sogd.* 54, 10, Chr. yw ywłr 'one by one, singly' i 42, 6. ii 6, 17, ywłr cn wyšnt 'one of them' ii 1, 64, ywłr cn dwł'snw 'one of the Twelve' i 78, 14.

<sup>1316</sup> B. ILPW 'δwy *C* 50nw, Obl., *DN* (= *P* 5) 3, viz. \*z'r 'δwyst pnc'snw, '1250', where -nw had been overlooked by Gauthiot.

<sup>1316</sup> Thus to be read instead of δ'w, which I regret to have overlooked in *JRAS*, 1942, 99, where the following misprints in Gauthiot's edition of the *VJ* should be added: line 171 read ywł instead of ywł; line 56<sup>b</sup> read t'β'kh instead of t'm'khł; line 204 read 'yw instead of 'yw; line 255 read 'wyn instead of wyn; line 47<sup>c</sup> read 'wswytp'zn instead of wsuytp'zn. [Cf. now also Benv., *TSP*, 166 sqq.]

† [m corrected prima manu into β]

1319. (e) The Accusative of 'yw has the nominal ending -y in Chr. ywy i 45, 8, 9; the Oblique possibly occurs with the pronominal ending in B. 'ywn, v. § 179 fn.

1320. (iii) While 'δw, (°)δw' represent OIr. duw- (on the loss of the endings cf. § 501; v. also § 161), the compound form B. δyβ,<sup>1</sup> and δ(y)βnw,<sup>2</sup> go back to OIr. dwi- (cf. §§ 239, 430). The ending -nw connects the latter with Lat. bini, &c. (cf. Gauthiot, *Gramm.* 120).

1321. (iv) δuwātas- '12', from \*duwādas-, with t through dissimilation, or perhaps under the influence of štas '18' (§ 478); pančtas '15', by analogy.

1322. (v) -nw in Chr. [ywł]snw '11', dwł'snw '12', B. \*pnc'snw '50', may be the old Gen. Pl. ending -(a)nām from -ānām, cf. § 350.

1323. (vi) šys '30', pnc's '50', from the Nom. Av. θrisqs, \*pančāsqs.

1324. (vii) Of compound numerals not entirely expressed in symbols, there are very few examples. Cf. B. nw' nw't '99', the example quoted § 1316 fn. 2, B. *C* 'št '108', Man. ii qmbyy xxx '28', B. 'yw knpy *L* '49', v. § 1302, B. 30 wywšw '36', v. § 1327.

1325. (viii) A numeral indicator (like NPers. nafar, &c.) is possibly Chr. xwštyq i 36, 8 (H.), but the passage is not clear.

1326. (ix) Cardinals, not ordinals, usually followed by Man. syty', B. sytyh, *Anc. Lett.* syth, are used in dates for the days of the month, cf. *BBB* s.v. syty,<sup>1</sup> and, without this addition, B. cnn 'prtmy m'γh xv k'w tδrty m'γw xv prm *Dhu* 229.

1327. (x) 'Time', French 'fois', is rendered by prwrtty (recognized by H.), cf. § 962 (i° 'once' *S* 40 i R 2; tym i° 'once more' *Man. Lett.* i 29; ii° 'twice' ib. and *M* 640, 1 (direction in a MPers. hymn)), B. y'wr (cf. *VJ* 793, 1298, 1427, and wywšw y'wr wywšw 30 wywšw βwt '6×6 = 36' *Dhu* 18 sq.), and exceptionally by B. znk'n (z'yh wywšw znk'n šn 'the earth trembled six times' *VJ* 999); cf. also i p't 'once (only)', *BBB* p. 102 on f 6.

1328. (xi) Apart from the use mentioned in § 1327, -zng'n (on which v. also § 1034) preceded by cardinals is used with the meaning of 'fold', v. *BBB* s.v.

<sup>1320</sup> Not clear is the spelling Chr. db'm'ngy' ii 3, 21, 'doubt', against S. δβm'ncy' pr wr(n)[w *T* ii D 91, 6 (= Parth. bym'ngyft (H.)).

<sup>1320</sup> Used for natural pairs, such as eyes (*VJ* 277, 1372), breasts (*VJ* 1028), feet (*Dhy* 35), or if a couple of things has just been referred to, as in the Man. passage quoted by H., *BSOS* viii 584 bottom [= *Tales* 473, 48].

<sup>1326</sup> Similar to syty', but not attested in connexion with dates, is Man. xrtty 'passed', v. H., *apud* Rachmati, *T.T.* vii 61.

1329. (xii) A relation between numerals is expressed by *pr* in Man. 'yw *pr* z'r 'ty 'yw *prw* βrywr *M* 635 i 1 sq. (cf. Parth. 'yw 'c hz'r'n w [dw]c bywr'n *T* ii D 129) 'in the relation of one to a thousand', cf. H., *Kaw.* 60 fn. 1, and B. 'yw *pr* δw 'doubly' *Dhy* 41.

1330. (xiii) Distributives are formed by repeating the cardinal. For examples v. § 1676 sq.; cf. the distributive repetition of nouns, § 1633. [On -*ky*, distributive suffix, v. § 998.]

(xiv) On the use of the Singular and the Plural after cardinals, v. §§ 1662-74.

(xv) On the forms of the symbols, v. F. W. K. Müller, *SPAW*, 1926, 8.

### 1331. Ordinals.

	Directly from OIr. as attested in the Avesta	Sogd. suffix -m	Sogd. suffix -(m)yk	Otherwise
1st	Man. 'ftm-, Chr. ftm-, B. (')prtm-, S. 'βtm-	..	Man. 'ftmyk <sup>1</sup> B. 'prtm <sup>2</sup>	Man. (')ftmcyk <sup>3</sup> S. 'prtmcykw <sup>4</sup>
2nd	Man. δβty-, B. δβty- and, more often, δyβty-	..	Man. δβtyk, <sup>5</sup> δβtykw <sup>6</sup>	Chr. dbtyq, S.
3rd	B. 'šty-, 'tδrty-, cšty-	..	Man. štyk, 'štyk, Chr. štyq, B. 'tδrtyk, <sup>7</sup> cštyk, <sup>8</sup> 'cštyk <sup>9</sup>	
4th	..	B. ctβ'rm <sup>10</sup>	Man. ctf'rmyk, B. ctβ'rmyk, B. cβ'rmyk <sup>11</sup>	
5th	..	B. pncm <sup>10</sup>	Man. B. pncmyk, Man. pnjmyk <sup>12</sup>	
6th	..	B. wšmy <sup>13,23</sup>	B. wšmyk, <sup>14</sup> S. wšwšmykw <sup>15</sup>	
7th	..	B. 'βtmy <sup>13</sup>	Man. 'βtmyk, Chr. 'btmyq, B. 'βtmyk <sup>16</sup>	
8th	B. 'štmy <sup>13</sup>	..	B. 'štmyk <sup>17</sup>	
9th	B. num'y <sup>13</sup>	..	Man. numyq, <sup>18</sup> B. n'wmyk <sup>19</sup>	
10th	B. šsmy <sup>13</sup>	..	Man. šsmyk, <sup>20</sup> B. šsm'yk <sup>21</sup>	
19th	..	..	Chr. nwšmyq <sup>22</sup>	

1332. (i) Other ordinals are attested only as symbols followed by -*myk*. On this suffix cf. § 1104.

<sup>1</sup> *M* 107 ii 5.

<sup>2</sup> *ST* ii 7, 11.

<sup>3</sup> *BBB* f 68. *M* 110 i R 10. *M* 549 i 12. Cf. Khwār. *ftamītsk*, § 1013.

<sup>4</sup> *JRAS*, 1944, 138, 16. <sup>5</sup> Cf. §§ 430, 977.

<sup>6</sup> *VJ* 244. On the spelling v. Lentz, *ST* ii 577<sup>a-b</sup>.

<sup>7</sup> *P* 3, 31. On the spelling cf. § 286 fn.

<sup>8</sup> *V*. § 442. <sup>9</sup> *V*. § 67.

<sup>10</sup> *P* 2, 329. <sup>11</sup> *T* *M* 393 ii V 22.

<sup>12</sup> *P* 3, 99. <sup>13</sup> *T* ii T 22, 14.

<sup>14</sup> *T* ii T 22, 16. <sup>15</sup> *P* 2, 333.

<sup>16</sup> [Add B. 'wšmy *T* ii T m 6].

<sup>17</sup> *V*. Sogd. p. 46.

(ii) In enumerations, the ordinal 'first(ly)' (cf. *ftmc[yk]* ... δβtyk, *M* 110 i R 10-V 2, B. 'βtmw ... δβtyw ... 'tδrtyw *VJ* 375 sqq.) can be expressed by the symbol *i* (*i* ... δβtyk ... štyq, *M* 127 R 9 sq., *i* ... δβtyk, *M* 655, 11. *T* ii D 117, 45), presumably standing for 'yw.<sup>1</sup> For B. cf. *ST* ii 10, 7. 49. *P* 2, 323; cf. also B. *srcy* § 1006.

1333. (iii) The inflexional forms of *ftam*- (cf. §§ 178, 318) have been collected by H., *BBB* p. 77 on 626. To B. 'prtm<sup>2</sup> add Man. 'ftmyy 'at first' *M* 178 ii R 9.

1334. (iv) For the inflexion of *divdy*- (v. § 430) cf.

(a) Ending -*y*. Only B.: δyβty 'second' Nom. (cf. § 1191) *VJ* 1340 (v. § 1618). *O*<sup>1</sup> 17, δβty *O*<sup>1</sup> 15; 'secondly' *ST* ii 10, 8. 26. 50; δβty 'again' *T* iii S 313, 8, 'w δyβty 'again' *DN* 83; 'yw δyβty pryw 'dear to each other' *SCE* 56; 'yw 'yw *ZKn* δyβty nm'cyw βr'ynt 'they paid homage to each other' *VJ* 896 sq.; 'wyn δyβty myδ 'on the following day' *VJ* 90. 867. 1442.

1335. (b) Ending -*w*. Man. B. δβtyw 'again'<sup>1</sup> *M* 117, 4. *M* 136 R 11. *VJ* 290. 1068 (δyβtyw); 'secondly' *VJ* 376; Man. [yw] kw w δβtyw s'r 'to each other' *T* i D (*Par.* 28. 37).

1336. (c) Ending -*z*. Man. ] cn δβty *M* 857, 3; *i* δβty 'pryw 'with each other' *T* ii B R 17 sq.; 'yw wnyy δβty 'to, against each other' *M* 178 ii-V 23 sq.; B. 'yw c'wn δβty 'from e.o.' *Frg* iii 46.<sup>1</sup>

1337. (v) For the inflexion of *šty*- cf.

(a) Ending -*y*. B. cšty *DN* 83, 'tδrty *VJ* 1070, 'for the third time'.

(b) Ending -*w*. B. 'štyw 'third' Nom., *P* 2, 325, 'tδrtyw 'thirdly' *VJ* 377.

### PERSONAL PRONOUNS

1338. (i) 1st Singular.

(1) Man. B. 'zw, Chr. (')zw, Nom., cf. § 85.

(2) B. 'zwty *VJ* 389, 'zwZY *SCE* 545, from 'zw+OIr. *uta*.

<sup>1332</sup> The cardinal is ordinarily used for 'first' in enumerations also in MPers., Parthian, and Persian (H.).

<sup>1335</sup> Also Man. δβtyk is used for 'again', *Man. Lett.* ii 17. *M* 136 V 9. *M* 591, 4. 6.

<sup>1336</sup> In Chr., where the light stem *divd*- does not occur, the reciprocal pronoun is formed with *dbtyq*: yw cn *dbtyq* i 22, 21, [yw] qw *dbtyq* s' i 52, 15. This also happens in Man., cf. *BBB* 735. Of special interest is Chr. *xwdbtyq* 'with each other' ii 5, 15, which is hardly to be divided into *xw* and *dbtyq* (Lentz, s.v.), but rather into *xwd*-*dbtyq*, the first element, 'one' or 'each', being the same as in Chr. *xwd* *xwdq'r* 'alone', v. § 269 fn. Acc. to H., *xwd*- is in both cases the compound form of *xwtyy* 'self'. In B. we also find 'ny- 'other' for the reciprocal pronoun: *ZK* 'nyw 'wyn 'ny' *VJ* 1011, 'yw 'nyw c'wn 'ny' *Frg* iii 46 sq. Cf. B. γδnyw *SCE* 55, where γδ- is, acc. to H., an ideogram for 'yw (Aram. ḥaδ).



1339. (3) *mn'*.(a) Acc. *M* 127 V 8.(b) Obl. *M* 776, 2. V. also § 1392.1340. (4) Chr. *m'nyy* i 71, 1, viz. *mn'*+Acc. ending, cf. *šm'xy*, Acc., ib. 4. 5.1341. (5) *tāmā* (Preposition 'p (§ 1632) ?), Acc. Man. *t'm'h* *T* ii *D* 117, 34, *t'm'* *M* 135 i 19, Chr. *t'm'* ii 2, 23, B. *t'm'* *VJ* 50<sup>b</sup>. 306. 328, and *t'm'kh* *VJ* 1456 (cf. Reichelt, *ZII* iv 242); defining the enclitic pronoun, Chr. 't *my* . . . *t'm'* ii 3, 19, B. *ZY* *my t'm'kh* *VJ* 1137.1342. (6) *parāmā* (Preposition *pr*).<sup>1</sup> S. *pr'm'k* 'to me' *T* ii *D* 93 c V 5.1343. (7) *čāmā* (Preposition \**hačā*). Man. B. *c'm'* *BBB* f 88. *VJ* 1076, B. *c'm'kh* *VJ* 190, S. *c'mk* *Anc. Lett.* ii 39, 'from, by, me'; reinforced by *cn*, Man. Chr. *cn c'm'* *BBB* 538. 644. *ST* ii 3, 17. *c'm'* <sup>k</sup> *Hug.*

## 1344. (8) Enclitic.

(a) -*my*. Acc., 'tmyy *M* 127 V 13; Obl., 'rtmy *BBB* 642, B. *p'rZY* *my* *VJ* 434.1345. (b) B. -*my*, Obl., 'PZY 'my *VJ* 18. 173 sq.1346. (c) *Anc. Lett.* -*m*, cf. § 500. Acc., 'PZY*m* iii 9. 12, *kδZY*m** ib. 11; Obl., 'XRZY*m* i 3. 5. iii 19.1347. (d) B. -*mc* (with \**hačā*). *rtymc* 'from me, by me' *VJ* 177. 5<sup>b</sup>.1348. (e) B. -*mδ* (with \**hada*). *rtymδ βy 'yw pr''mn* 'yt 'and to me, Madam, a Brahmin came' *VJ* 1075 sq. (differently Gauthiot and Benv., *Grammaire*, 153).(f) S. -*mβc*, -*mβt*, v. § 1359 sq.

## 1349. (ii) 2nd Singular.

(1) Man. Chr. B. *tyw*, Nom.; with OIr. *uta*, B. *tywty* *VJ* 1268, *tywtn* O<sup>1</sup> 13.(2) In poetic texts, *tw* is attested. *tw* 'yš 'thou art' *T* ii *D* 66, 1, 11, (*tw*) 'yš *M* 137 R 1; with OIr. *uta*, *twot* . . . 'yš'h ibid. V 8 sq. (not quite certain).1350. (3) *tw'*.(a) Acc. *M* 137 V 2 (v. § 807). *M* 776, 12 ([*pr t*]w' *cwpr* 'on top of you'), possibly also *VJ* 301.1351. (b) Obl. *tw* δ'βrw 'I gave to you' *M* 130 ii R 4; δ*n tw* *pryw* 'with you' *M* 776, 2; *VJ* 425. V. also § 1393.1342<sup>1</sup> *parā*- (against *prywyδ* &c., § 1404) by analogy to *čā*- (§ 1343).1352. (4) *tāfā* (Preposition 'p (§ 1632) ?), Acc. Man. *pf' Kaw.* C 12; S. *β' BBB* p. 62 on 517<sup>3</sup>. *T* ii *D* ii 169 V 2; B. *β'kh* *VJ* 56<sup>b</sup> (v. § 1316 fn. 3). 60<sup>b</sup>. 304. 1145. 1451; S. *β'k* *T* ii *D* 79 (I) R 2; *β'k* *Anc. Lett.* *It'β'δ' δ'26'*1353. (5) *parāfā* (Preposition *pr*, cf. § 1342 fn.). Man. *pr'f'h* *M* 617 i 32, Chr. *pr'f'* ii 4, 10. 6, 40, S. *pr'β'k* *T* *M* 389 a V 8.1354. (6) *čāfā* (Preposition \**hačā*). S. *pw c'β'* 'without you', v. § 1166; S. *c'β'k(h)* *T* *M* 389 a R 2. V 9. *VJ* 1406. *c'β'* *δ'26'*

## 1355. (7) Enclitic.

(a) Man. -*f*, S. -*β* (cf. §§ 297. 500). Acc. 'rtf *BBB* b 91; *ZKZYβ* *Anc. Lett.* iii 2. V 2; Obl. (Dativus ethicus) B. *rtfβ* *VJ* 711.1356. (b) Man. -*fy(y)*, S. -*βy*. Acc. 'rtfy *BBB* b 86, 'tfyh ib. 98, S. *rtβy* and *ZY βy* *T* ii *D* ii 169 (a) i R 9; Obl. *ktfy* *M* 117, 9, *qtfyy* *M* 591, 20, B. *rtf βy* (Dat. eth.) *VJ* 603.1357. (c) *Anc. Lett.* -*t*. 'PZY*t*, Dat., iii 5.1358. (d) *Anc. Lett.* -*βc* (with \**hačā*). 'XRZY*βc* 'from you' iii 5.1359. (e) *Anc. Lett.* -*mβc*. 'XRZY*mβc* 'to me from you' iv 3.1360. (f) *Anc. Lett.* -*mβt* (with 'p (§ 1632) ?). 'XRZY*mβt* 'I (by me) to you' (?) ii 52.

## 1361. (iii) 3rd Singular.

(1) *xw(w)* (cf. § 1398) 'he', *BBB* f 35. *M* 144 R 1. *T* ii *D* 62, 3; Chr. *x'* 'she' ii 3, 2.1362. (2) *hwnx* 'he' *M* 118 i R 13.1363. (3) *wny* (v. § 1399. 1444), Obl. *wny* 'pryw 'with him' *BBB* f 34 sq.; *cn wny pyδ'r* 'because of him' *M* 659, 2 sq.; v. also § 1394.1364. (4) Chr. *wy* 'her', Acc. i 4, 6. 37, 1. 3, ii 1, 62, Gen. i 73, 7. 8, Dat. i 36, 16. 72, 6, Abl. i 38, 6.1365. (5) *šw*, B. also 'šw (*VJ* 1a). *β'26'*

(a) Acc.

(a) Not enclitic. *BBB* f 53. *M* 133, 12.1366. (β) Enclitic. *BBB* f passim.1367. (b) Obl. (enclitic). *M* 178 ii R 9. *M* 135 i 34.1368. (c) -*šwpr*. 'tyšwpr 'yjn 'worthy of it' *BBB* f 78; *VJ* 1009.1369. (6) *šy(y)*.

(a) Normally Obl.

(a) Not enclitic. *BBB* p. 64 on 525<sup>2</sup>; *šyy cwpr* 'over it' (possibly Acc. ?) *M* 133, 57 sq. 96.

(β) Enclitic. Very common.

1370. (b) Acc. (enclitic). Man. *M* 760, 20. *T ii D* 62, 8; B. *Vim* 109.  
 1371. (c) -šypr. B. *ZKZY šy pr Vim* 81.  
 1372. (7) -š (cf. § 500). Not Man. Chr. 'š Acc. Fem. *ii* 3, 1; Obl. Chr. *ibid.* 11 (Fem.), S. 'PZYš *Anc. Lett.* iii 2, &c.  
 1373. (8) B. -šc (with \*hačā). *VJ* 14<sup>c</sup>. 51<sup>d</sup>. 491. &c.  
 1374. (9) -šš (with \*hada). Man. 'rtšš *T i D* (Par. 35); B. *ZKZY* šš *SCE* 49.

## 1375. (iv) 1st Plural.

(1) Man. Chr. *m'x*, B. *m'γw*. Nom.-Acc., v. *ST ii* s.v. (cf. also Chr. 'ym'x, § 778); Obl., v. *ibid.*, and cf. *VJ* 323. *ST i* 86, 10, and *m'x* 'pryw 'with us' *Man. Lett.* ii 9. Not clear *m'xnc* *Anc. Lett.* [v. Addenda].

## 1376. (2) mn, S. 'mn.

(a) Not enclitic (only Chr.). *ST ii* 1, 41 (Obl.). 45 (Acc.).

1377. (b) Enclitic. Acc. 'tymn *M* 134 *i R* 2. 7; Obl. 'r(ty)mn *M* 635 *i* 11, S. *ZY* 'mn *T i a* (6) *V* 4.

1378. (c) S. -mnc (with \*hačā). *Anc. Lett.* ii 32. [v. Addenda to § 1375.]

*VJ* 142? 1379. (3) B. -n', Acc., *p'ruty n'* *VJ* 1285, v. *JRAS*, 1942, 100.

## 1380. (v) 2nd Plural.

(1) Man. Chr. *šm'x*, Man. 'šm'x, B. *šm'γw*, S. 'šm'γ, v. § 157, for all cases. Chr. *šm'xy* Acc., cf. § 1340.

1381. (2) Man. -fn, B. -βn, enclitic. Acc. 'tyfn *BBB* f 60, B. *rty βn* *VJ* 1093; Obl. *VJ* 1098. 1103; 'rtfn *M* 399, 7 (unclear context).

1382. (3) B. -βy, enclitic. Obl. *VJ* 1100; with *pr*, *rtyβy pr* *ib.* 1094.

1383. (4) *Anc. Lett.* -tn, Dat. (Plural of politeness), *i* 11. *iv* 6.

## 1384. (vi) 3rd Plural.

(1) Not enclitic.

(a) *wěšand* (cf. § 1399 fn.).

(a) Manichean. Nom. *wyš'nd* *M* 617 *ii* 6. *Man. Lett.* i 22; Obl. *wyš'ndyh pyδ'r* 'because of them' *ib.* 25; Abl. *cn wyš'ndyyh* 'from them' *Kaw.* G 17. Cf. also § 1396.

1385. (β) Christian. *wyšnt*, Nom. *i* 27, 16. 30, 7. 36, 14. 43, 16. &c.; Acc. *ib.* 11, 2. 20, 4. 5. 41, 3. &c.; Abl. *ib.* 9, 2. 47, 2; *wyšnty* Gen.-Dat.-Abl.; Acc. *ii* 6, 6.

(b) *wěšan*, Obl., v. § 1396.

(c) *měšand(e)*, v. §§ 1396. 1480.

1386. (d) *šand*. Chr. *šnt* Acc., *ii* 2, 19, cf. B. *š'ntt* Nom.. 'these' *VJ* 23<sup>b</sup>.

(e) *χā*. B. *ZKh* Nom., *VJ* 129. 356. 783. &c.

## 1387. (2) Enclitic.

(a) -šn. Acc. *M* 178 *ii R* 2. *V* 19. *T ii D* 62, 16; &c.; Obl. *M* 178 *i R* 3. *V* 27, &c.; B. -šn *pr*, v. § 1628, b.

1388. (b) B. -(')šw. Acc. *VJ* 60. 42<sup>a</sup>.

1389. (c) -šy. Obl. 'šyy *M* 118 *i R* 15. *VJ* 62 *ntqšy* - 'šw *bo*.

1390. (vii) Personal pronouns in the Nominative can be replaced (or reinforced) by *xwtyy* 'self'.

1 Sg. *BBB* 502. *VJ* 569. 628. 939; (')*zw xwtyy Kaw.* C 14.

2 Sg. *BBB* b 63. *M* 127 *V* 8. *M* 137 *R* 2.

3 Sg. *BBB* 559. f 60. *VJ* 39<sup>c</sup>. 955.

2 Pl. *VJ* 1376.

3 Pl. *M* 118 *i R* 2. *Man. Lett.* i 23.

1391. (viii) A possessive relation is expressed by means of the Genitive of the personal (demonstrative) pronoun, sometimes reinforced by *xypδ* 'own' (cf. § 231), or by means of *xypδ* alone, when referring to the subject.<sup>1</sup>

1392. 1 Sg. *mn' w'xš* 'my words' *T ii D* 117, 30; *i* . . . *mn' xypδδ w'm* (')*t* 'one was my own' *M* 130 *ii R* 3; B. *γypδ γ'n'kh* 'my house' *VJ* 15<sup>d</sup> sq.; *VJ* 1049. 1176 sqq.

1393. 2 Sg. <sup>1</sup>*tw' rwβ* 'your mouth' *M* 137 *R* 6 sq.; *tw' xw'r* 'your sister' *M* 760, 16; *pr tw' γryw cwpr* 'on your person' *M* 776, 10; *i* . . . *tw' xypδδ w'm't* 'one was your own' *M* 130 *ii R* 4 sq.; *xypδ βr't* 'your brother', v. § 285 fn. 1; *ST ii* 4, 8. 9. 6, 46; *VJ* 1136.

1394. 3 Sg. *cn wny rw'nyy* 'from his soul' *BBB* f 39; *wnyy* 'jwnd 'his sons' *M* 264 *A* 21; *wnyy xypδδ jwxsqty'h* 'to his disciples' *T ii D* 62, 17; *cn xypδ frnyy* 'from his own *Nods*' *M* 133, 46 sq.; *δn xypδδ* 'jwndt 'with his sons', v. § 1659.

1395. 1 Pl. v. *ST ii* s.v. *m'x*.

2 Pl. *wny xypδδ γrywyy prš'p'δ'rδδ* 'you have prepared for yourself' *M* 134 *i V* 2 sq.; S. *ZK γypδ δstw* 'your hand' v. § 1557.

1396. 3 Pl. *wyšn 'xš[y]wnyy* 'their master' *M* 635 *i* 6 sq.; *wyš'ndy δyn'βr'nc* 'their nun' *Man. Lett.* i 20; *myš'ndyy xypδ rw'n* 'their soul' *Man. Lett.* ii 6; *myš'ndy xypδ i 'sp'skr'nc* 'a girl-servant of theirs' *Man. Lett.* i 29 sq.; *w' xypδ 'rk* 'their own tasks' *Kaw.* K 3; *cn xypδδ pty'ry* 'because of their negligence' *T ii D* 115, 2 sq.

1391<sup>1</sup> *γypδ* has a Plural in S., v. § 1250.

1393<sup>1</sup> A proper possessive pronoun 2nd Sg. has been recognized by H. in S. *tw'xky* *Anc. Lett.* iii 21. 23. 24 (Reichelt's *swznky*), v. § 822, 2.

1397. In Man. the enclitic personal pronouns are less frequently used for the possessive than in B., but there are a few examples, cf. 'rtšn xw . . . ptmwk 'and their dress' *M* 178 i V 29, 'rtšy xw nr[ 'and its trunk' *M* 664, 25.

## DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS

(Cf. Tedesco, *ZII* iv 95 sqq., H., *BBB* p. 70)

### Introduction

(See conspectus, § 1501)

1398. (a) Most demonstrative pronouns have their place among two suppletive systems and extensions derived from them.

#### (b) First suppletive system.

Stem x-. xw from hau for the Nom. Masc.; x' from hā for the Nom. Fem. (also used for the Nom. Pl.).

1399. Stem (-)w-. 'ww or ww, contracted B. 'w, from awam for the Acc. Masc.; w' for the Acc. Fem. (also used for the Acc. Pl.); wy and wy' for the Loc.; wnyy from \*awana for the Gen.-Dat.; wyšn(d) from awaišām<sup>1</sup> for the Plural.

#### 1400. (c) Second suppletive system.

Stem y-. yw from \*ayam, for the Nom.

1401. Stem (-)m-. (')mw from imam for the Acc.; 'my, 'my', 'myn, for the Obl.; myšn(d) from \*imaišām, for the Plural (cf. § 1399 fn.).

#### 1402. (d) Extensions.

(1) -ne from \*-naka-, added to xw and yw.

(2) -na from \*-nākā-, added to x', w', \*m', \*y', for the Feminine Singular.

(3) -nd, added to x', w', \*m', \*y', for the Plural.

(4) -nu,<sup>1</sup> added to 'w and mw.

(5) -naχ, added to xw.

(6) -and (cf. Khot. *ttanda*-), found with the stems w and m when

<sup>1399</sup> With the ending adapted to the enclitic pronoun -šn, v. H., *ZDMG* 90, 198, cf. also § 350. The addition of the Sogdian Plural ending -t (-d) to the Obl. wyšn (§§ 1396, 1447) and myšn (§ 1479), made it possible to use wyšnd, myšnd, in the Nom.-Acc., cf. also the Nom.-Acc. Chr. B. šand, § 1386. From wyšnd, myšnd, a new Obl. (and Acc.) wyšndy, myšndy, was formed in the usual way.

<sup>1402</sup> The origin of this extension, which also appears in w'nd, and c'nw 'as', is not clear.

prefixed by a preposition ('prepositioned') or by a simple pronoun belonging to the same stem (§§ 1459, 1487).

(7) -iθ (cf. § 1109), found with the stems w and m, when prepositioned.

1403. (e) The demonstratives xyδ (§ 1420) and wyδ (§ 1452) may be combinations of the stems x and w with the demonstrative 'yδ (§ 1500). As, however, the nature of their final -δ (Chr. -d in *ST* ii and *B* 49) is not known, wyδ is treated in the following description as being the form underlying the prepositioned pronouns *pariwiθ*, &c.

(f) The demonstrative 'yny (§ 1499) occupies a place by itself.

1404. (g) The -y- connecting the various prepositions with the pronominal stems -wyδ (§§ 1453 sqq.), -wnd (§§ 1460 sqq.), and the Pl. wyšn (§§ 1449 sqq.), is, acc. to H., an analogical extension from the prepositioned forms of the corresponding stems -myδ (§§ 1482 sqq.), -mnd (§§ 1487 sqq.), from -ima-; cf. especially the forms with the preposition *pr* (*prym*- from \**upari-ima*-).

### Description

#### 1405. (i) Stem x-.

- |          |                      |
|----------|----------------------|
|          | (a) Simple, 1405-9.  |
| (1) xw   | (b) +naχ, 1410.      |
|          | (c) +ne, 1411-14.    |
|          | (a) Simple, 1415-17. |
| (2) x'   | (b) +na, 1418.       |
|          | (c) +nd, 1419.       |
| (3) xyδ, | 1420-2.              |

(1) Man. Chr. xw, B. (')yw.

(a) Simple form. Widely used for the Nom. Sg. Masc. of the article, also as personal pronoun (cf. § 1361). The following are special or exceptional cases.

(a) Acc. Sg. xw βrtpyδy'h ptyz'nuw 'I recognized the knowledge' (?) *M* 280 R 1 sq. (poetic text); xuw pryy . . . δbrtyy ywtk'm 'it will be necessary to give the salary' *M* 135 i 43 sq.; xuw wyn' jnyy 'to strike the lute' (Fem.) ib. 41; B. rty yw "γδ'kw βyr 'obtain thy wish' *VJ* 52° sq. Not clear is the function of xw in *xii xii xw δbrt' ptyc'nd*, quoted § 1676. [v. Addenda.]

(β) Nom. Fem. xw qnygrwšn kwndyskwn 'the Virgin of Light makes' *M* 140 R 9 sq.

1406. (γ) Nom. Pl. xuw dyn'βrt 'the electi' *M* 110 ii V 4; xw qyšk't 'the false teachers' *M* 140 V 8 sq.; Chr. xw n'ft 'the people' ii 4, 35 sq.; B. 'yw myδβt 'the ministers' *VJ* 1423; B. 'yw 'they' *VJ* 1264, v. also Tedesco, loc. cit. 98.

1407. (δ) Preceding other demonstratives. *xww wyš'nd s't* 'they all' *M 264 A 20 sq.*; Chr. *xw xwny myn'bry* 'that strong one' *ii 5, 16*; B. *γw γδ wβ w'tδ'r* 'these so many animals' *Frg iii 45.*<sup>1</sup>

1408. (ε) Vocative. *VJ 1140.*

1409. (ζ) In B. texts, *γw*, placed at the end of a sentence, has the value of 'is', 'are', v. Salemann, *Izv.*, 1913, 1137, Benv., *Grammaire*, 67 sq. Cf. *VJ 1504 sqq.*, where the subject is successively in the Masculine, the Feminine, and the Plural, and *γw* is preceded by *γδ*. H. compares the identical use of *ol* in Turkish (e.g. *T.M. iii 9 No. 4, 13. 18*). In Chr. *xw* is not used with this predicative function. For Man., one might compare *ky 'ty xw 'fšnyh n'mryh j'r* 'who is \*spreading sweet poison' *BBB b 84 sq.*, and *'yny myšyy βγ[y] bwnmrg xww 'styy* 'this is the basic number of the sun' (H.) *M 767 i 9.*

1410. (b) Enlarged by -*nax*. Man. *xwnx*, *hwnx* (v. § 63), B. *γwn(γ)*, 'that, that one, he' (v. § 1362), Nom. Sg. Masc., B. also Nom. Pl. (*VJ 1509*).

1411. (c) Enlarged by -*ne*. Man. Chr. *xwny(y)*, B. *γwn'kw* 'that'.

(a) Usually, Nom. Sg. Masc. Cf. *BBB e 2. 9. M 655, 23. VJ 1232, &c.*

1412. (β) Nom. Sg. Fem. *Man. Lett. i 27.*

1413. (γ) Acc. Sg. and Pl. *'tyy xwnyy δw' . . . kpyštyy ny'tδ'rt. 'ty xwnyy . . . kpyy nyy ny't δ'rt* 'and he caught those two . . . fishes, but that . . . fish he did not catch' *M 127 R 12 sqq.*

1414. (δ) Ablative. *cn xwnyy 'nxryy* 'zodiacal sign' *M 767 i 2 sq.*

1415. (2) Man. Chr. *x'*, B. *γh*.

(a) Simple form. Article, personal pronoun (cf. § 1361).

(a) Nom. Sg. Fem. *x' rwxšn'γrdmn* 'the paradise' *M 178 i V 7 sq.*; *'tx w'* 'and the profit' *M 280 R 8*; *x' pysws* NPr., *T ii B V 14*; &c.

1416. (β) Nom. Pl. Masc. *x' δywt* 'the demons' *M 178 ii R 17*; *x' γrβ'kt* 'the wise' *M 135 i 60*; *x' γrt* 'the mountains' *T ii D 116, 15*; &c.

1417. (γ) Nom. Pl. Fem. *x' wnd* 'the trees' *T ii D 267, 20.*

1418. (b) Enlarged by -*na*. Man. *x'n* Nom. Sg. Fem., *M 178 i R 19. M 760, 8.*

<sup>1407</sup> Not clear in its context is B. *γwn'k γw δβ'r p'r'm'yt* 'that dāna-pāramitā' (H.) *VJ 1462*, hardly Genitive, as suggested by Reichelt, *ZII iv 244 fn. 2.*

1419. (c) Enlarged by -*nd*. Man. *x'nd*, Chr. *x'nt*, Pl., 'those'. Nom. *M 178 i R 2*; Acc. *ST i 21, 11*; Acc. or Obl. *ST ii 6, 19.*

1420. (3) Man. *xyδ*, Chr. *xyd*, B. *γyδ*, 'that (same), is, idem' (cf. § 1403), often in connexion with a relative clause.

(a) *pr xyδ ynd'k βjyq 'šm'r* 'through these (just mentioned) evil thoughts' *BBB b 18 sq.*; *xyδ 'xšywnyy βγyy* 'that same god' *M 264 A 21. 24*; *xyδ ny'myy* 'at that time' *Man. Lett. ii 14*; Chr. *xyd ny'm* 'at that time, then' *ii 2, 15. 3, 21*; Man. *xyδ ywnyδ zwrnyy* 'at that very moment' *T ii D 66 b 26*; Man. *xyδ ywn*, v. § 1109.

1421. (b) Connected with a relative. *δβtyw xyδ 'dy y s'r 'zwrt cn qy' rwβyy nyjty* 'goes back again to that very person from whose mouth it has come out' *M 117, 4 sqq.*; *xyδ ykšyy . . . ky* 'that yakša who' *BBB 555 sq.*; Chr. *xyd qt 'is cui' i 33, 14*; Chr. *xyd 'yc [qł] 'id quod' i 49, 9*; &c.

1422. (c) Preceding other demonstratives. *yyšw' pr xyδδ xwnyy βwt* 'the moon is in that one' *M 767 i 6 sq.*; B. *γyδ wy'wnt zmnw myδ'ny* 'at that time' *ST ii 9, 14*; v. also B. *γyδ γw*, § 1409.

1423. (ii) Stem (-)w-.

(1) (γ)w(w) { (a, b, c) Simple, 1423-30.  
(d) Enlarged by -*nu*, 1431.  
(e) Prepositioned by *pr*, 1432.

(2) w' { (a) Simple, 1433-6.  
(b) Enlarged by -*na*, 1437.  
(c) Enlarged by -*nd*, 1438.

(3) *wy* 1439 sq.

(4) *wy'* 1441-3.

(5) *w(y)ny*, *'wyn*, 1444-6.

(6) *wyšn(d)* 1447-51.

(7) *wyδ* 1452-8.

(8) -*w(y)nd* 1459-65.

(1) OIr. *awam*.

(a) Man. *'ww (awu)*.

(a) Acc. Sg. Masc. of the article. Very common.

1424. (β) Acc. Pl. *'ww ps'kt* 'the garlands' *Kaw. V 15*; *'ww . . . βγγšt* 'the gods' *BSOS viii 584.*

1425. (γ) Ablative. *cn 'ww š(yrk)ty* 'from that pious' *Kaw. V 21.*

1426. (b) Man. *ww (wu)*.

(a) Acc. Sg. Masc., passim.

1427. (β) Acc. Sg. Fem. *w* δ'm 'the creation' *T ii D* 267, 19; *w* *qnck* 'the child' *BBB e* 22 (v. comm. ib. p. 101).

1428. (γ) Fem. Sg. Acc. or Dat. *prδβn pty'scnd w* *rw'nspsyy* 'they damaged the religious duties' *JRAS*, 1944, 142, 8 sq. (the text goes on: *rty c'nw x' rw[ns]p'syy p'szsy* 'and when the rel. duties (Fem. Sg.) are performed').

1429. (δ) Nom. Sg. Masc. *T ii B V* 12.

1430. (c) B. 'w (ō).<sup>1</sup> Acc. Sg. *VJ* 31<sup>b</sup>. 794. &c.; Acc. Pl. *VJ* 56.

1431. (d) Enlarged by -nu. Man. B. 'wnw, B. 'wn'w, 'wn'kw (cf. § 960 fn.1). Nom.-Acc., mostly Neuter, 'id'. Man. 'wnw *cw T ii D* 115, 1. *T ii D* 116, 6, B. 'wn'kw 'cwty *VJ* 247, 'id quod'; 'wnw *s't* 'id omne' *M* 399, 13; B. 'wn'kw *ST ii* 7, 6, 10, 38, 'wnw ib. 9, 12 'id', 'wn'w 'sβr'ck 'eas res' ib. 7, 1; Man. 'wnw *xcy* 'is this' *M* 108 R 5 (unclear); B. 'wn'kw *w'γδ*, Acc., 'ea verba' *VJ* 818. 1372; B. 'wn'kw *rδwh* 'along that road' *VJ* 103 (parallel passages *w'n'kh rδ(w)h*, v. § 1437); S. 'wn'kw *β'r'ycyk*, Nom., v. § 1536.

1432. (e) Prepositioned by *pr*, Man. S. *prw*, S. 'prw, v. § 1625. *prw* is generally used as a prepositioned article (like Italian *del*, &c.); the demonstrative value of its second element is still alive in B. 'gywuncyδ *prw* 'PZY ... 'similar in this respect that ...' *T iii* 263 i 20 sq. 29.

1433. (2) w<sup>2</sup>.

(a) Simple form. Only Man. Mainly Acc. Sg. Fem. and Acc. Pl. of the article.

(a) Acc. Sg. Fem. *w* ... 'rk 'the task' *Kaw. K* 3; *w* ... δ'm 'the creation', v. § 1278; *w* 'nyttc *ruwxšn'γrdmn* 'the whole paradise' *M* 178 i V 2 sq.; &c.

1434. (β) Acc. Pl. *w* *mrtxmy[y](t)[yy]* 'the men' *Kaw. G* 8 sq.; *w* *δyδ[ym'ty] ps'k* 'the diadem and the crown' *T ii D* 167 iii 13.

1435. (γ) Nom. Sg. Fem. *w* *rw* *prwstyy wβyy* 'the day may have turned' *Man. Lett.* ii 6.

1436. (δ) Preceding other demonstratives. *w* *m'n* 'fcmδδδ, Acc., *BBB p.* 70 (quoted § 719).

1437. (b) Enlarged by -na. Only B., cf. *VJ w'n* 538, *w'n'kh* 450. 43<sup>b</sup>. 50<sup>c</sup>, *w'n'kw* 654, throughout with *rδ-*, Acc. Sg. Fem., 'along that road'; *w'n'kh z'yh* 900 sq.; *w'n'kh šm'r'kh* 1025 sq.

<sup>1430</sup> Cf. the ideogram *ZKw* (= 'w, article), used for the *z'w* particle 'oh' (= Man. 'wh *BBB* Frg b) in *VJ* 1040.

1438. (c) Enlarged by -nd. Man. *w'ndt* Pl. Obl., *BBB p.* 70; *r'txw w'n(t)t* [ (?) *Kaw. V* 16.

1439. (3) Man. *wy(y)*, B. 'wy. Man. B. Locative of the article, B. also Gen.-Dat. *B; NA p* 2 *Al., VJ* 72

(a) Locative. *wyy rytty* 'on the face', Fem., *T ii D* 167 iii 3; *wyy δywtty(h)* 'x's *myδ'nyy* 'during the fight against the demons' *M* 247, 2 sq.; *wyyh m'wn δyw'styyc(y)* δ'myy 'in the whole world of demons', Fem., *JRAS*, 1944, 142, 6; *wyy ylgwy* *tyys'nd* 'they walk on to the bridge' *JRAS*, 1944, 143, 21. For B. v. Tedesco, loc. cit. 97, also *SCE* 131.

1440. (b) Gen.-Dat. Sg. (Fem. acc. to Tedesco) *VJ* 221. 309, and Tedesco, loc. cit., 96; Pl. *VJ* 202. 220, and Tedesco, loc. cit. 97.

1441. (4) Man. Chr. *wy*, B. 'wyh. Man. B. Locative of the article, B. sometimes Gen.-Dat., Chr. general Oblique of the Feminine personal pronoun.

(a) Locative. Man. *wy* *rytyy* 'in front' Fem., *T iii* 282, 14; *wy'h* 'nw'zky 'in the assembly', v. § 986; *wy* *tmy* *cyndr* 'in hell' *M* 110 i V 3; *wy* *δyny* *cndr* 'in the Church' Fem., *BBB f* 90; *wy* *srδy* 'in a year' *M* 140 R 4; Pl. *wy* *sm'nyty* 'in the skies' *M* 178 ii R 29; &c.

1442. (b) Dat. Pl. *VJ* 51<sup>b</sup>. 64<sup>d</sup>. 676.

(c) Chr., Fem. personal pronoun, Obl., v. § 1364.

1443. (d) Enlarged by -wnt (v. § 1459). B. *γyδ wy'wnt*, Loc., v. § 1422; *wy'wnty*, Loc., *SCE* 90 (cf. H., *BSOS* viii 585 fn. 3); *wy'wnt* 'zwynyh 'in that birth' *P* 2, 477.

1444. (5) OIr. \*awana.

(a) Man. *wnyy*, *wyny*, Gen.-Dat. Sg. (Masc. Fem.) Pl. (Masc.) of the article. Also Gen.-Dat. Sg. of the personal pronoun, v. § 1363. Chr. *w(y)ny* Obl. and Acc. of the personal pronoun Masc.

1445. (b) B. 'wyn. Gen.-Dat. Sg. Masc. of the article. *Non Pl. H. VJ* 450

1446. (c) Enlarged by -wnt (cf. § 1459). B. *wnyw'nty prnp'r* *Vim* 100 'illius causā<sup>11</sup> (Weller); B. *wnyw'nty pwyδsβty* *L' γwt wnty ZKZY* 'he cannot eat that Bodhisattva who' *T iii* 263 i 22.

(d) Prepositioned by \*hačā, čon, v. § 1610, 2.

(e) Prepositioned by \*hada, šon, v. § 1622.

1447. (6) S. *wyšn(wh)*, Man. *wyšn* (v. § 1396) and *wyšnd*, Chr. *wyšnt*, cf. § 1399 fn., article and personal pronoun, Plural.

(a) B. *wyšn(wh)*, v. Tedesco, loc. cit. 97, *Anc. Lett.* *wyšnw*,

<sup>1446</sup> Cf. *VJ* 167 sq. *prnp'r* 'γ'ym ... 'PZY 'ea causa venimus, ut ...'.

ZKyšnw, ZKyXMw (v. H., ZDMG 90, 198), used for the Gen.-Dat.-Abl. of the article.

(b) The Chr. examples are personal pronouns throughout, v. § 1385.

1448. (c) The Man. examples are used as personal pronouns (v. § 1384) and for the article, cf. *wyšnd fryštyt* 'the angels' Nom., *Kaw. G 3*, *wyšnd fryštytyy* Acc., ib. 4 sq.; *wyšnd ii z'tyt* 'the two sons' *M 794 c 2*. Man. *wyšn* is exceptionally Nom. in *Kaw. E 15*.

1449. (d) Prepositioned by *pr. prywyšn tmb'r* 'in their bodies' *M 178 i V 28*, where another Man. copy of the same text has *pr wyšn tmb'r* (*T ii D 139, 20*).

1450. (e) Prepositioned by *hačā*. Man. *cywyšn ky* 'ty' 'from those, whose' *T ii D 139 i 6*; B. *cywyšn* 'propterea' *VJ 812 sq.*; *cywyšn mrtym'tt* 'from men' *SCE 520*; S. *cywyšn p'r'yt dywt* 'from the other demons' *Kaw. H 15 sq.*

1451. (f) Prepositioned by *hada*. B. *dywšn [T iii Š 23 (3) ii 7]*.

1452. (7) Man. B. *wyš*, Chr. *wyd* (cf. § 1403) v. Lentz, *ST ii*, s.v.

(a) Simple form. Used for complements of time and for the Acc., 'that, this'. *wyšp't(y)* 'this time', v. *BBB p. 102 on f 7*, *wyšp'ty(y)* 'then' *M 135 ii 28*. *Kaw. G 8*. *T ii B R 7*, *pts'r wyšp't* 'then' *M 178 ii R 4*; Chr. *wyd n'y'm*, Chr. *wyd žw[mny]* *ii 4, 32* (v. H., *BBB p. 58 on 505*), B. *wyš zmnyh*, B. *wyš zmnw DN 62. 86* (v. § 512 fn.), 'at that time, alors'; *wyš frm'n* 'that order' *M 916 b 5* (out of context); B. *wyš pts'r'k* 'the (that) skull', Acc., *Frg iii 88*; *wyš ptškw'n* 'the (that) message', Acc., *VJ 1415* (wrong Lentz, loc. cit.); cf. also Chr. *wyš'yty*, B. *wyš'yty*, 'then', Lentz, loc. cit.

1453. (b) Prepositioned by *pr. prywyš* 'in it, there, thus' *BBB 581. JRAS, 1944, 142, 4. &c.*; *prywyš s't* 'for all this' *BBB 532, &c.*; *prywyš z'y* 'on that Earth' *M 178 i R 24*; *prywyš 'šw* ... *dywt* 'into the two demons' *T ii B R 8 sq.*; *prywyš w'xš* 'in this speech' *Man. Lett. i 23*; *prywyš mzyx prδ(β)[n* 'in this great peril' *M 674, 21*; Chr. *prywyš fryn* *i 81, 11 sq.*, B. *pr'ywyš prynh VJ 973* 'in this manner'; B. *pr'ywyš yw'n* 'because of this sin' *VJ 44*; *pr'yw(y)š zmnw* 'at that moment' *VJ 819. 1015*.

1454. (c) Prepositioned by *hačā*. *cywyš* 'after this' *M 129 R 7*, *cywyš(y)* 'afterwards' *BBB c 18. d 3. 5. 9. &c.*, *cywyš yrttr* 'posthac' *BBB f 12. 32*, Chr. *cn cywyš pyštrw* id., *i 82, 5*; *cywyšdyh* 'from it' *M 178 i R 27*, Chr. *cn cywyš* id., *i 34, 4*, Man. *cwn cywyš* 'from those' *M 118 i V 4*; S. *cywyš* 'from there' *T M 389 a V 32*, Man. *cywyšdy ykys[r]* 'outside it' *M 128 V 8*, *cywyšdy bystr* id.,

*T ii D 116, 22*; Man. *cywyš pyš'r p'rt'y*, Chr. *cywyš pyš'r q't ST i*, *cywyš pyš'r m't ii 3, 11*, B. *cywyš pyš'r (P)ZY*, Man. (c) *ywyš p'rwtyh M 372, 29*, *cywyš p'[rwty T ii D 63 a 14*, 'propterea quod, for, because'; *cywyš pyš'r M 136 R 1*, B. *cyw(y)š pyš'r VJ 943. 1494. SCE 99*, 'because of this'; *c'wn cywyšdyh yrt'y* 'from those mountains', v. § 1681, *cywyšdyh rwxšny'ky* 'from this light' *M 129 V 11*, S. *cywyš . . . r'βyh* 'from this disease' *T M 389 a R 38*, B. *cyw'yš 'šcw* 'from such things' *VJ 955*.

1455. (d) Prepositioned by *hada*. *dywyš 'k't'nyy* 'for that sin' *BBB f 24*; *dywyš x'n[y]* 'in that house' *M 760, 5*; B. *dyw'yš myš* 'on that day' *VJ 1063*; *dyw'yš mrtymty* Dat. Pl., *VJ 137*.

1456. (e) Prepositioned by *k(w)*. Man. *kw kywyš wnx[r* 'to that voice' *T ii D 117, 32 sq.*; *kw qywyš [M 399, 1*; B. *pr'y't kyw'yš . . . dyšth* 'he arrived in the plain' *VJ 830*.

1457. (f) Prepositioned by OIr. *anā* or *anu*. B. *nyw'yš p'β'nty* 'in succession to it' *Dhy 80*, cf. *BBB p. 97 on b 88*.

1458. (g) Prefixed by *zy-*. Man. *zywyš*, v. *BBB* loc. cit. *Man. zywyš*

1459. (8) *-w(y)nd*, cf. § 107.

(a) B. *wy'wnt(y)*, v. § 1443; B. *wn(y)w(y)nty*, v. § 1446.

1460. (b) Prepositioned by *pr. prywynd jmn(w)* *Kaw. V 7*, Chr. *prywn't n'y'm ii 5, 33*, 'at that time'; Chr. *prywn't 'w'zy* 'in this crowd' *ii 4, 8 sq.*; Chr. *q't prywn't* 'by which' *i 31, 11*.

1461. (c) Prepositioned by *hačā*. *cywnd mrt's'r BBB b 42 sq.*, Chr. *cywnt mc' ii 1, 82* 'from then till now, since then'; Chr. *cn cywnty prcy* 'postea' *ii 5, 30*; B. *cyw'nty 'pyštrw* 'thereafter' *SCE 282*; Chr. *cn cywnt* 'from them' *ii 3, 66*; B. *cyw'nt zr'ysty* 'he is delivered from them (or it)' *SCE 340*; B. *cyw'nty pyštyh 's'nt* 'ils prendront de ces éléphants' *VJ 3<sup>b</sup>*.

1462. (d) Prepositioned by *hada*. Chr. *dywnt 'wt'qy* 'in that region' *ii 5, 33*; B. *dyw'nty myšβy ZKw ptškw'n* 'the suggestion by that minister' *VJ 262* (wrong Gauthiot); Chr. *pr dywnt wy'q* 'in that place' *ii 1, 96*; Chr. *pr dywnt myš qryt* 'in those days' *i 33, 9*.

1463. (e) Prepositioned by *k(w)*. Chr. *qw qywn't wy'q s'r* 'to that place' *ii 2, 12*; Chr. *qywn't s'r* 'to that one' *ii 1, 25*. Cf. § 411.

1464-5. (f) Prepositioned by OIr. *anā* or *anu*. B. *nyw'nty* 'about it, to that one, by that one', v. *BBB p. 97 on b 88*; cf. also B. *nyw'nt mrt'y . . . 'krt'k'sty* 'by that man was made' *T iii S 313, 7*, *nyw'nt mrtym'k* 'to, for that man' ib. 16. *P 2, 39*.

## 1466. (iii) Stem (-)m-.

- (1) (')*mw* { (a) Simple, 1466.  
(b) Enlarged by -*nu*, 1467-9.  
(c) Prepositioned, 1470-2.

(2) *m'*-, 1473 sq.

(3) '*my*, 1475. [*my* v. Addenda.]

(4) '*my*', 1476 sq.

(5) '*myn*', 1478.

(6) *myšn(d)*, 1479-81.

(7) -*myδ*, 1482-6.

(8) -*mnd*, 1487-91.

(1) (')*mw*, prepositioned -(')*m*, from *imam*.

(a) B. '*mw*, Acc. Sg. of the article, SCE 560. 563. *ST* ii; B. *mw* *ST* ii; Acc. Pl. B. '*mw* γρβ RYPW RYPW *pwtyšt* 'many myriads of Buddhas' *Vim* 102 sq.

1467. (b) Enlarged by -*nu* (cf. § 960 fn. 1) 'this'.

(a) Acc. Sg. Followed by Masc. nouns, Man. *munw* BBB 665. c 39. d 11. &c., B. *mun'kw* VJ 21<sup>b</sup>. SCE 344, B. *mun'w* *ST* ii 8, 5, Chr. *munw* ib. 4, 27. 5, 24; followed by Fem. nouns, BBB e 10. VJ 318; alone (Neuter), *ST* ii 4, 18.

1468. (β) Nominative. Chr. *munw* γdy 'this prayer' ii 4, 11 sq.; in Man., only before quotations or enumerations, cf. iii p'syk *munw* βwt (xxy) BBB c 43 sq. d 13, 'the three hymns (to be sung) are the following', δw'ts 'ndmyyt *munw* xnd 'the 12 limbs are as follows' M 14 V 17 sq. Cf. *myš'nd*, § 1481.

1469. (γ) Oblique (?). Chr. *munw* y'twq xrypt fn's 'this sorcerer's deceitfulness' ii 4, 11.

1470. (c) Prepositioned by *pr*.

(a) B. *pr'ym* wysprδ n'βcy' *myδ'ny* *Vim* 141 sq., *pr'ym* wysprδ n'βc'kh ib. 144, 'in every country'.

1471. (β) *prm* p'rc βndktyc 'in this dark prison' BBB b 75; *prm* 'fcmβδ [sic] M 498 c 4, B. *prm* βwmh VJ 226, *prm* δ'mh *Vim* 126 'in the world'; B. *prm* kršn 'on the (= his) beauty' *Vim* 87; *prm* CWRH 'towards the body' SCE 182 (Cf. BBB p. 54 on 490<sup>2</sup>).

1472. (d) Prepositioned by Av. pasča. B. (')*pyšm* 'according to', v. § 373.

1473. (2) *m'*-.

(a) Enlarged by -*na*. Acc. Fem. Man. *m'n'*, v. § 1436; Abl. *cn m'n'*(')... *pyδ'r* M 428, 9 sq. (not certain). B. *m'n'kh* *Vim* 26.

1474. (b) Enlarged by -*nd*. Acc. Pl. Chr. *m'nt* γdy 'these things' ii 6, 18; B. *m'nt* t'yw'kt 'these children' VJ 1268.

1475. (3) B. '*my*, Gen.-Dat. of the article. *m'γw* '*my* *wγwδw* RYPW *nym*. 'ynch '*nyw* z'tk *nyst* 'for us, the 60-000 women, there is no other son' VJ 361 sq.; '*my* n'βy *wyštry* 'leader of the people' SCE 486.

1476. (4) S. '*my*', Locative of the article.

(a) Simple form. '*my* δ'*my* 'in the world' T ii D ii 169 (a) i V 10.

1477. (b) Enlarged by -*mnt* (v. § 1487), Loc. and Dat. '*my'mnty* 'zwny 'in this life' *Dhy* 142; '*my'mnty* 'with regard to this' *ST* ii 10, 24; '*my'mnty* 'krtyh 'for such deeds' ib. 41 sq.; '*my'mnty* *mrtym'k* 'for, to, such a man', Dat. eth., SCE 549 sq.

1478. (5) B. '*myn*, Gen.-Dat. of the article. SCE 110. 128. *ST* ii passim.<sup>1</sup> *Dhu* 37. 39. 54.

1479. (6) B. *myšn(w)*, Man. *myš'*(')*nd*, Chr. *m(y)šnt*. Article and personal pronoun, Plural, cf. § 1399 fn.

(a) B. *myšn* *Vim* 118, *myšnw* *Vim* 52. 107. SCE 103. 115. &c., Gen.-Dat.; *myšn* *Dhu* 47. SCE 106, *myšnw* *Dhu* 42, Acc.; always article.

1480. (b) Chr. *myšnt* i 13, 3, *myšnt* ii 1, 34. 2, 18, 'those, they', Nom.; *mšnt* ii 3, 39, Acc.; *myšnty* ii 2, 17, Gen.

1481. (c) Man. *myš'nd* xnd 'are the following' BBB b 7 sq. (cf. *munw*, § 1468); *myš'nd* pnc *prβynd* 'these five gifts' Nom., BBB p. 76 on 621; *myš'*(')*ndy(y)*, Gen. of the personal pronoun, v. § 1396.

1482. (7) -*myδ*.

(a) Prepositioned by *pr*. *prymyδ* 'for, because of, this' BBB 552; Chr. *prymyδ* *wrynysqn* 'in this we believe' i 75, 15; Man. *prymyδ* ... *δyny* *frn* 'on the Glory of the Religion' BBB 533 sqq.; Chr. *prymyt* *ynl'qryt* 'to these sinners' ii 6, 29; Chr. *prymyδ* *fryn* *ST* i passim, Man. *pr* '*ymyδδ* *fryn*' M 430, 4 'in this manner'; S. *prymyδ* *pc't* 'this time', v. § 179.

1483. (b) Prepositioned by *hačā*. *cymyδyy* 'of it' BBB d 2, *cymyδdy* 'out of that, daraus' M 118 i R 7; B. *cnn* *cym'yδ'y* 'thereby' *Vim* 127; Chr. *xwθ* *cn* *cymyty* [sic] 'eat of it' i 81, 9, *cymyθ* 'from it' ib. 13; Chr. *cymyθy* *pyδ'r* 'therefore' i 21, 18. 80, 6, B. *cym'yδh* *pyδ'r* *Vim* 73 sq., *cnn* *cym'yδ* *pyδ'r* *Vim* 36. *ST* ii 10, 40; Man. *cymyδδ* 'fcmβδdy 'from this world' M 617 i 6; Man. *cymyδδ* *lmb'ryyh* 'of, from, this body' T ii D 62, 3; B. *cym'yδ* *rβty* 'of such diseases' P 2, 41.

1484. (c) Prepositioned by *hada*. Chiefly Dative. *δymyδ* *w'xš*

1478<sup>1</sup> Gen.-Dat. in all passages (against Lentz, s.v.).

'in, to, this speech' *Man. Lett.* ii 17; *δymyδδ mr'yštyy* 'to the birds' *T ii D* 62, 18; *δ[y]myδ . . . s'rβyy cyndr* 'in this tower' *M* 133, 13 sq.; *S. δym'yδ z'k'ncyh* 'to this \*girl' *T M* 389 a R 31.

1485. (d) Prepositioned by k(w). *S. kw kymyδ [s']r X I ii R* 8.<sup>1</sup>

1486. (e) Prepositioned by OIr. *anā* or *anu*. *nymyδ tmb'ry* 'in this body', v. *BBB* p. 97 on b 88.

1487. (8) -mnd.

(a) *B. 'my'm(')nty*, v. § 1477.

(b) Prepositioned by *pr*. *prymynd* 'in these (the following)' *BBB* b 74; *S. prym'nt z'y* 'on this earth (Fem.)' *T ii D ii* 169 (a) i V 7.

1488. (c) Prepositioned by *hačā*. *Chr. cymnt šyry* 'from this bliss' *ii* 6, 34; *B. cym'nt 'δcw* 'of these things' *VJ* 1364. With Plural ending, *B. cym'ntšnw* 'from them' *Vim* 68.

1489. (d) Prepositioned by *hada*. *pr δymnd ii mydyt(y)* 'on these two days' *M* 136 V 7 sq.; *Chr. pr s't dymnt 'wt'qt* 'in all these regions' *ii* 3, 44 sq.; *B. δym'nty yryh* 'on this mountain' *VJ* 948.

1490-1. (e) Prepositioned by k(w). *B. kym'nt yrw s'r* 'to this mountain' *VJ* 947.

1492. (iv) Stem y-.

(1) *yw*, from *ayam*. [Differently Bailey, *TPS* 1945, 19]

(a) Simple form. Article.

(a) *Nom. Pl. yw pystyy 'xšnkt' yrt'* 'the adorned splendid mountains' *M* 178 i R 28 sq.; *B. yw r'δct mrtym'tt* 'the men on the way' *SCE* 528 sq.; *B. yw šw'm'k 't L' šw'm'y pδkh . . . 'nt* 'the dharmas of change and not-change are' *ST ii* 7, 26 sq.

1493. (β) *Nom. Sg. B. yw yw'r'nt* 'the right-hand one' *O<sup>1</sup>* 5. 7.

1494. (γ) *Acc. Sg. S. prwh y(w) yypδh mntyrβ'ky'kh* 'in (your) own foolishness' *X I ii R* 21 sq.

1495. (b) Enlarged by -ne. *Man. ywnyy šy'ws* 'this gentleman', *Nom.*, *M* 135 i 18; *ywny prβ'r [ . . . ] xcy* 'this \*explanation<sup>1</sup> is . . . ' *T ii D* 139 ii 11; *ywny xcy yw . . .* 'this is the . . . ' *ib.* 4; *B. ywn'k*, *Nom. Sg. SCE* 199, *VJ* 1475, *Loc. SCE* 68, cf. also *ST ii*, s.v.

1496. (c) Prepositioned by *pr*. *Chr. pryw* 'towards him, on him' *ST i* passim.

1497. (2) y'-.

(a) Enlarged by -nā. *Nom. Sg. Fem. S. y'n'kh 'βc'npδh* 'this

1485<sup>1</sup> Uncertain context.

1495<sup>1</sup> *V. Kaw.* 68 fn. 3.

world' *X I ii V* 1, *y'n'kh r'zh* 'this secret' *ib.* 22, *B. y'n'kh pryšnh* 'this sign' *VJ* 1032.

1498. (b) Enlarged by -nd. *Pl.*, 'these'. *Chr. y'nt ST i*, *Nom.* -*Acc.* passim; *Abl.* 18, 6. 26, 3. 36, 8; *y'nt s't* 'all this', *Acc.*, 45, 11; *Chr. y'ntt Nom.*, *ii* 6, 23; *B. y'ntt Nom.*, *ST ii* 7, 8. *VJ* 1245. *Sy'ntt TM3<sup>1</sup>*.

1499. (v) *Man. 'ynyy, Chr. 'yny*, 'this'. *H.* compares *Skt. ena*. *Nom. Sg. M* 767 i 9. *M* 591, 12. *ST i* 16, 19. *ST ii* 5, 5; *Nom. Pl. ST ii* 1, 56. 6, 4, *Man. 'ynyy ii* 'these two' *M* 640, 2; *Acc. BBB* b 43. *ST i* 43, 16. 47, 10. *ST ii* 1, 84, *Man. 'ynyy ctf'r βyy'q* 'these four deities' *M* 670, 6 sq.

1500. (vi) *Man. B. 'yδ, Chr. yδ* 'this', from \**aita-*, v. *Benven.*, *Grammaire*, 131 fn. *Nom. Sg. Masc. M* 635 i 14; *B. 'yδ cšmy wyny* 'yw 'this is obvious' (*H.*) *VJ* 364; *B. yw 'yδ w'β w'tδ'r*, v. § 1407; *B. 'yδ rwrh* (*Fem.*), *Acc.*, 'this medicine' *Frg iii* 62; *Chr. yδ 'yšt* 'these things' *B* 49, 14. 23.

1501. *Conspectus* (see overleaf).

## RELATIVE PRONOUNS AND ADVERBS

1502. (i) *ky* (beside it *Chr. qt* in *ST i*)<sup>1</sup> 1503-7.

(ii) *ky'*, Oblique, 1508 sq.

(iii) *cw*, Neuter (beside it *Chr. qt* in *ST i*)<sup>1</sup> 1510-13.

(iv) *B. kt'r* 'which' 1514.

(v) *kw* 'where' 1515 sq.

(vi) *kwδ* 'where' 1517.

(vii) *ckn'c* 'unde' 1518.

(viii) *kδ* 'when' 1519.

With the exception of *Chr. qt*, these forms are frequently strengthened by the enclitic *'ty*. Some syntactic peculiarities of relative clauses are treated in §§ 1678-83.

1503. (i) *ky*.

(1) *Nominative. nywš'kt ky . . . ptz'n'nd* 'auditores who recognize' *BBB* f 82 sq.; *fryt' kyy . . . šyry 'kty'y prwyjnyy xcy* 'love, which is the nourisher of good deeds' *BBB* 626 sq.; *cw xcy kyy xwrttyy βwtškw* 'what is that that is being eaten' *BBB* 759 sq.; *Chr. mn' tmb'r qy 'wxsty bwtq'n* 'my body which will be destroyed' *i* 81, 10 sq.

1504. (2) *Accusative. tnp'r . . . ky ptmwytyy δ'rmskw* 'the body which I am wearing' *BBB* 487 sq.; *cw pwrc 'ty zyny y ky pčxšm skw* 'what loan and deposit (are these) which I receive?' *BBB* 763

1502<sup>1</sup> Cf. § 1581 fn. 2.



## Conspectus of the

Demonstrative Pronouns<sup>1</sup>

Stem		w
Simple	Sg.	<div> <div> <div>Nom.</div> <div>Masc.</div> <div>Fem.</div> </div> <div> <div>Masc.</div> <div>Fem.</div> </div> </div> <div> <div>(*)w 1423-30</div> <div>w 1433-6</div> <div>w(y)ny 1444, B. 'wyn 1445</div> <div>wyy 1439, wy' 1441 sq.</div> <div>prw 1432</div> <div>c(w)n 1446</div> <div>δ(w)n 1446</div> <div>..</div> </div>
	Pl.	<div> <div>Nom.</div> <div>Acc.</div> <div>Obl.</div> </div> <div> <div>pr</div> <div>hačā</div> <div>hada</div> <div>pasča</div> </div> <div> <div>wyšnd 1448</div> <div>w' 1433 sq., wyšnd 1448</div> <div>w(y)nyy 1444, wyšn(dy) 1396</div> <div>prywyšn 1449</div> <div>cywyšn 1450</div> <div>B. šywn 1451</div> </div>
Enlarged	-ne (Masc.) -na (Fem.) -nu (Neuter and Acc.) -nd (Plur.) -naχ	<div> <div>SB. w'n'(kh) 1437</div> <div>'wnw 1431</div> <div>w'nd 1438</div> </div>
	-yδ	<div> <div>wyδ (?) 1452</div> <div>prywyδ 1453</div> <div>cywyδ 1454</div> <div>šywyδ 1455</div> <div>kywyδ 1456</div> <div>B. nyw'yδ 1457</div> <div>zywyδδ 1458</div> </div>
	-end	<div> <div>Reinforcing the simple pronoun</div> <div>pr</div> <div>hačā</div> <div>hada</div> <div>k(w)</div> <div>anā/u</div> <div>z-</div> </div> <div> <div>B. wy'wnt 1443</div> <div>B. wn'ywnty 1446</div> <div>prywynd 1460</div> <div>cywnd 1461</div> <div>Chr. dywnt 1462</div> <div>Chr. qywn 1463</div> <div>B. nyw'nt 1464</div> </div>

<sup>1</sup> This conspectus does not include 'ynyy (§ 1499) and 'yδ (§ 1500). The indications as to gender, number, and case are only general, for details v. the sections referred to.

x	m	y
<div> <div>xw 1405</div> <div>x' 1415</div> <div>..</div> <div>..</div> <div>..</div> <div>..</div> <div>..</div> <div>..</div> <div>..</div> </div>	<div> <div>'w-ZK</div> <div>ZKh</div> <div>..</div> <div>..</div> <div>..</div> <div>..</div> <div>..</div> <div>..</div> <div>..</div> </div>	<div> <div>B. yw 1493</div> <div>..</div> <div>..</div> <div>..</div> <div>..</div> <div>..</div> <div>..</div> <div>..</div> <div>..</div> </div>
<div> <div>x' 1416 sq.</div> <div>..</div> <div>..</div> <div>..</div> <div>..</div> <div>..</div> </div>	<div> <div>ZKh</div> <div>..</div> <div>..</div> <div>..</div> <div>..</div> <div>..</div> </div>	<div> <div>..</div> <div>..</div> <div>..</div> <div>..</div> <div>..</div> <div>..</div> </div>
<div> <div>xwny 1411 sqq.</div> <div>x'n' 1418</div> <div>..</div> <div>x'nd 1419</div> <div>xwnx 1410</div> <div>xyδ (?) 1420 sqq.</div> <div>..</div> <div>..</div> <div>..</div> <div>..</div> <div>..</div> </div>	<div> <div>..</div> <div>..</div> <div>..</div> <div>..</div> <div>..</div> <div>..</div> <div>..</div> <div>..</div> <div>..</div> <div>..</div> <div>..</div> </div>	<div> <div>ywny 1495</div> <div>*y'n' 1497</div> <div>..</div> <div>Chr. B. y'nt 1498</div> <div>..</div> <div>..</div> <div>..</div> <div>..</div> <div>..</div> <div>..</div> <div>..</div> </div>
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sqq.; *wystw ky kδrm* 'the oath which I have taken' *T ii D 66 b 35*.

1505. (3) Oblique. *'qwtysł . . . kyy 'ty . . . mndyrβ'ktł δbr'ndskwn* 'dogs to which the fools give' *T ii D 62, 22 sqq.*; *wšłm'x kyy . . . 'δyy ny yrβty 'zββ* 'the paradise, whose flavour no one knows' *T ii T 22, 23 sqq.*; B. *z't 'ky 'PZY my 'γw w'βr'kt 'nyz um't rty 'ky usn γβt'ym* 'oh children, for whom I used to get up so early, and for whose sake I toiled' *VJ 1087 sqq.*

1506. (4) + 'ty.

(a) Man. *ky(y) 'ty*. Examples in the prec. sect., and §§ 1678. 1680.

(b) Chr. *qyt. qyt c'nw . . . twžyntqn* 'quippe qui tribuerint' *ii 6, 20*; *γnł'q qyt tw . . . šqrtq'n* 'the wicked one who will lead thee' *ii 6, 44 sq.*

(c) B. *'kyty VJ 124. 236. 337. &c.*; *kyZY; ZKZY SCE*.

1507. (5) Used as a relative conjunction. *γf srδyt wβ' kyy xii 'nxrtyh 'xš'wn s't nyjtyy* 'it was many years since the rule of the twelve zodiacal signs had finished completely' *M 767 ii 4 sq.*

1508. (ii) *ky*, cf. *BBB p. 88 on 758*.

(1) *ky' xw qyštyc* 'whose cornfield' *M 133, 88 sq.*; *cn qy' rwβyy*, v. § 1421; Chr. *pr qy' cwpr* 'on which' *ii 1, 49*.

1509. (2) + 'ty.

(a) Man. *kyy' '[ty]šyy*, v. § 1685; *cγwysn ky' 'ty*, v. § 1450.

(b) B. *'ky' ZY DN 9*.

(c) S. *ky'wt Anc. Lett. ii 49*. (Obl. or Acc.)

1510. (iii) *cw*.

(1) *frm'n cw . . . ptywšłδ'rnd* 'the order which they had heard' *M 135 ii 33 sqq.*; *γryw jywndy cw xwrδ'rt* 'what of the Living Soul he has eaten' *M 107 i 49 sq.*; *wysp'rδyy tkwšł cw wynyy . . . ryj'nxjyt* 'everywhere he looks out for that which excites his desire' *BBB 565 sq.*; Chr. *pr rwł zmb' cw žyrrnt dwnbys* 'on the bank of the river which they call the Danube' *ii 1, 20*; Chr. *cw w'xš xnt cw w'bysq tγw* 'what words are (these) which you are saying' *ii 1, 39*; B. (')*cw δr'w p'tyγwš(w)* 'the rumour which I heard' *VJ 509. 577*.

1511-12. (2) + 'ty.

(a) *cw xcyw cw 'ty xwrδ'skwn* 'what is it that you are eating?' *BBB f 76*; *xwtγh xcyw x' δβ'r cw 'tyh . . . ptcxšnd* 'this is the gift (Fem. ?) which they receive' *M 144 R 2 sqq.*

1513. (b) B. *'cwty. p'rZY my tym w'β 'sty 'cwty tw' δβ'r δβ'r'm k'm* 'I have still so much that I can give you' *VJ 434 sq.*; *cw ZYmy . . . L' w'β'y 'cwty 'krt'y* 'why don't you tell me what has happened?' *VJ 293 sq.*

1514. (iv) B. *kt'r*, cf. Russian *которые*. *tym 'δcw 'sty kt'r ZY 'my βγš'y k'm* 'there is still something which you might give me' *VJ 1131 sq.* [Benveniste: 'will you give (it) to me?']

1515. (v) *kw* 'where'.

(1) *z'yh . . . kw w'wδ ptyrwδ* 'the ground, where vegetation grew' *BBB 578 sqq.*; *'yny 'fcmδδ . . . kw m'x 'skwym* 'this world where we are' *M 107 i 9 sqq.*

1516. (2) + 'ty.

(a) *'wrδ kw 'ty x' fryštyt 'skwnd* 'there, where the angels are' *M 178 ii R 24 sq.*; *'ws' šw'm skwn kww 'tmyy β'rycyk škr't* 'I am going there, where the mount may be taking me' *M 127 V 12 sq.*; *kw 'ty wδyyδ* 'wherein' *M 178 i R 4*.

(b) B. *'kwty VJ 43<sup>b</sup>*. *SCE 91*; (')*kwZY VJ 193. 12<sup>b</sup>. 17<sup>b</sup>. 1117*.

1517. (vi) Man. S. *kwrδ*. *kwrδδ* 'where' *M 108 V 9*; S. *kwrδ wy'ky ZY . . . βwt k'm* 'in the place where . . . will be' *X I i V 20 sqq.*

1518. (vii) *ckn'c*, from \**hačā + kn'c* (v. § 1538), 'unde'. [*p*]'*mpwšł ckn'c . . . 'jwnd 'jyynd* 'a queen from whom sons are born' *M 133, 92 sqq.*; *xw i [rwššny'k] ckn'c 'ty xw C z'r cr'γ p[tsw]xsty* 'the one light, from which the hundred thousand lamps are lit' *T ii D 139 ii 4 sq.*; B. *'γw w'β'k ckn'c 'PZY 'ytsδ* 'the country whence you have come' *VJ 152*.

1519. (viii) Man. B. *kδ* 'when'. *BBB d 7. Frg iii 49, &c.*

## INTERROGATIVE PRONOUNS AND ADVERBS

1520. (i) *ky*, usually Nominative, 1521-3.

(ii) *ky*, Oblique, 1524.

(iii) *cw*, Neuter, 1525-30.

(iv) *kw*, 'where', 1531 sq.

(v) *kwrδ* 'where' 1533 sq.

(vi) Chr. *qd* 'when' 1535.

(vii) *kδ'm, kt'm* 'which' 1536 sq.

(viii) *kn'c* 'whence' 1538.

(ix) *ckn'c* 'whence' 1539.

(x) Chr. *c'f* 'quot' 1540.

(xi) B. *c'βr* 'quot' 1541.

(xii) B. *c'γwn'k* 'qualis' 1542.

(xiii) *c'nw* 'how' 1543.

Except when used as conjunctions, interrogatives are rarely followed by 'ty, unless the latter is used to support a following enclitic pronoun.

## 1521. (i) ky.

(1) Nominative. *'rtf pr . . . tmb'r . . . kyy p's'y' 'who has thrown you into the bodies?' BBB b 52 sqq.; B. 'ky yrsty 'who knows?' VJ 303; B. tyw ZY 'ky 'y's 'who are you?' VJ 929.*

1522. (2) Oblique. *kyy w'st prw swsyt' 'whose service has it entered?' BBB f 75.*

1523. (3) +ty. *kyy 'fyf k[wn] 'ww tw' . . . csmw kwr 'who has made your eyes blind?' BBB b 57 sq.; kyy 'fyh ptyry's 'who has dragged you out?' BBB b 98.*

1524. (ii) ky'. *pr ky' 'xšnyrk [']skw'm 'in whose sign am I?' BBB 758 sq.; ky' y'ty xwrnyy xcy 'whose flesh and blood is it?' BBB 762 sq.*

## 1525. (iii) cw.

(1) 'what'. *cw 'rq yrβyy 'what work do you know?' M 135 i 22; cw xcy 'what is it?' v. § 1511; cw pwrc 'what obligation?' v. § 1504; Chr. cw nwqr 'what now?' i 58, 5; B. 'cw 'p'y'y 'what do you think?' VJ 1466; B. 'cw n'mt 'yw 'wt'k 'what is the country called?' VJ 151 sq.; B. tw' 'cw βy's'n 'what shall I give you?' VJ 425; indirect, Chr. 'zy[ndy] q't pr cw fryn' byrt'y q'ty 'narrative: in what way was . . . found' ii 1, 14 sq.*

1526. (2) 'why'. *ST i 54, 16. Cf. § 1528.*

## 1527. (3) +ty.

(a) 'what'. *B. cwty 'krty 'what has happened?' VJ 286; Chr. pr cwty ny 'wstyd'ry 'why (lit. what for) did you not put?' i 48, 22.*

1528. (b) 'why'. *B. cw ZYmy L' w'β'y, v. § 1513; B. 'cwZYpw (or 'cwtyp) . . . 'pr's'y 'why should you ask' = 'how much less', cf. Benv., Notes ii 228.*

1528a. (c) Man. *cwt(?) : qn'c frm'n . . . [?]ksnd . . . cwt'sn . . . 'tx' prwy(δyy) 'whence do they \*take their orders? what is their [aim] and striving?' (H.) M 280 R 13 sqq. (poetic text, meaning uncertain).*

1529. (d) Used as a particle introducing a question. Cf. Yaghn. *cúte, v. Klimchitsky, Zap., 1937, 23.*

(a) Chr. *cwt 'nonne'. cwt qd'c p'ts'ty ny 'y's't' 'have you never read?' i 21, 15; cwt xwysm nyst tw' 'ou μέλει σοι; i 37, 21; cwt 'ly' . . . 'y's 'are you not Elias?' i 58, 5; cwt'ny 'isn't it?' i 9, 6, 52, 15.*

1530. (β) B. *cwty, cw ZY. cwty ZKh z'kt tδ'yδ 'y'nt kt'r ZY L' 'have the children arrived there, or not?' VJ 1398 sq.; cw ZY βn yw 'By mwrty 'has your father died?' VJ 1281 sq.*

## 1531. (iv) kw 'where, how'.

(1) *'rlyy hwnx 'βcr kw syxw'y' kw βyr 'where did he take the materials from, where did he find them?' M 118 i R 13 sqq.; Chr. qw byrt' butq'n . . . qw 'šybdy stysq 'where can it be found, where has it been hidden?' ii 1, 79 sq.; B. ZKh t'yw'kt . . . k'w 'krt'nt 'how did the children fare?' VJ 1067.*

1532. (2) +ty. *B. 'kwts'y 'yw pt'sm'r 'krt' β'y 'how can his (reward) be counted?' SCE 516.*

## 1533. (v) kwrδ 'where'.

(1) Man. *'kwrδδ is possibly interrogative in M 127 R 3.*

1534. (2) With the postposition -s'r, *B. kwts'r VJ 774, B. 'kwts'r VJ 407. 4<sup>c</sup>. 59<sup>c</sup>, 'quo?', cf. §§ 301. 461 fn.*

1535. (vi) Chr. *qd' 'when', i 27, 17. 18.*

1536. (vii) Man. *kδ'm, kt'm, B. kt'm, Chr. qd'm (cf. § 269).*

(1) 'quis, qualis'. *'tx' wr' sty kt'm 'and the advantage is which?' M 280 R 8 (poetry); qδ'm δywt and kyy xwr'ndskwn 'what demons are these that one is eating?' BBB 761 sq.; S. kt'm ZY γ[c]y 'wn'kw β'r'y'cyk kyZY . . . tr'ytry ycy 'which is that riding animal that is swifter?' T M 389 a R 1 sq.*

1537. (2) 'uter'. *Chr. qd'm cn cymnt dw' 'which of these two?' ii 1, 73; B. kt'm ywrm 'sk'tr' ywny 'kyty . . . kt'r ZY ywn'y 'kyty . . . 'which earth is more? The one which . . . or the one which . . .?' VJ 1466 sqq.*

1538. (viii) kn'c, from *kana+hačā*. Man. *qn'c 'unde?' in the passage quoted § 1528 a; B. cnn kn'c 'unde?' VJ 3<sup>c</sup>.*

1539. (ix) ckn'c, Chr. *cqn'*, from *hačā+kanāč*. *B. ckn'c 'unde?' VJ 150. 406; Man. cqn'c pyδ'r M 135 i 38, B. ckn'c pyδ'r T iii (Stk.) 13. 19, Chr. cqn'c pyδ'r ii 4, 42, 'why?'*

1540. (x) Chr. *c'f, B. c'β (cf. §§ 1585-7). Chr. c'f ptyqn 'y's'ty'w 'how much do you owe?' i 42, 7; B. c'β β's'ny ZKh z'yh 'how many parasangs away is the country?' VJ 152 sq.*

1541. (xi) B. *c'βr (cf. § 1589). c'βr w'tδ'r't 'st'nt 'how many living beings are there?' ST ii 7, 30.*

1542. (xii) B. *c'ywn'k (cf. also § 1583). c'ywn'k ZKw m'n'wsl'ymn 'how shall we dispose the mind?' v. § 721; c'ywny ZK ywny ZKZY w'tδ'r ywnty 'qui animal appellatur, qualis est?' Dhu 43 sq.*

1543. (xiii) c'n- 'how' (cf. §§ 1595-1602). Man. *c'nw M 178 ii R 6 (v. § 719). T ii D 66 b 35; B. c'n'kw VJ 211. 321; Chr. c'ny i 67, 3. 15, c'n ii 1, 83. 85. 3, 10. [v. Add. to § 960 n. 1 (p. 308).]*

1537<sup>1</sup> v. JRAS, 1942, 101.

# INDEFINITE (AND RELATIVE-INDEFINITE) PRONOUNS AND ADVERBS

1544. (i) *ky*, 1545.  
 (ii) *cw*, 1546-52.  
 (iii) *kδ'm*, *kt'm*, 1553 sq.  
 (iv) *kw*, *kwδ-*, *kwrd*, *kδ'c*, 1555-9.  
 (v) *āδ-*, 1560-9.  
 (vi) *ēδ-*, 1570-6.  
 (vii) *nēδ-*, 1577-9.

V. the synopses in §§ 1580 sq.

1545. (i) *ky*. B. *'kyty ytw "δprm* 'whoever' *VJ* 124 sq. For Man., cf. § 1683.

1546. (ii) *cw*, B. also *cwty*, 'whatever' (cf. also § 1303). The following noun is frequently in the Plural, in which case the verb (often in the Subjunctive) can agree either with the noun, or with *cw*.

(1) Noun in the Singular. *cw šyr'kty' kundyy* 'whatever good deed he does' *BBB* f 36; *'tyfn cw t'w 'ty z'wr β'tk'm . . . 'ndwzsd* 'strive with all your strength (lit. whatever strength will be to you, strive)' *M* 135 ii 12 sqq.; B. *cw "δcw* 'whatever' *VJ* 503; B. *'cw ZY . . . δštwn ny "zky n 'skw'ty ZY 'cw m's'k . . . cw kwr . . . rty 'yw mrt mrt . . . šw'ty* 'whatever there be of poor and destitute people, whatever old, whatever blind ones, let each of them go' *VJ* 49 sqq.

1547. (2) Noun and verb in the Plural. *cw βyyšt' skwnd* 'whatever idols there are' *BSOS* viii 584; S. *cw mγδβth . . . wm't'nt* 'whatever ministers there were' *T* ii T 4.

1548. (3) Noun plural, verb singular. B. *cw 'wyh n'βy pr'mnt* 'skw'z 'whatever Brahmins there were amongst the people' *VJ* 58; *'cw . . . βγ'yšt 'skw'z 'cw cyt'yt 'cw pr'ykt' 'cw' pr'mn* 'whatever gods there were, whatever spirits, fairies, Brahmins' *VJ* 1111 sqq.

1549. (4) No noun.

Verb singular. B. *rtyšn cw knpy γ't* 'whatever is short for them' *VJ* 80; *cwty βn ryz't* 'whatever pleases you' *VJ* 180.

1550. Verb plural. B. *rtyšy 'cw knpy γnt* 'whatever is short for him' *VJ* 53; *'cwty βn γw'ncyk' γnt* 'whatever is necessary to you' *VJ* 159.

1551. (5) With B. *"δprm*. *'cw "δprm 'w δrm* 'any dharma' *SCE* 535; *'cw 'zp'rt ZY γwp't "δprm ryz* 'any pure and kind (? cf. § 1072) desire' *VJ* 883.

1548<sup>1</sup> Cf. *JRAS*, 1942, 100.

1552. (6) With B. *γtw "δprm*. *'cw γtw "δprm wnty* 'whatever he does' *SCE* 439; *cwty šn γtw "δprm ryz'ty* 'whatever may please them' *VJ* 87; *cwty šn γtw "δprm γw'ncyk' wm't* 'w. was necessary to them' *VJ* 127; *'cw 'PZY γtw "δprm γwyz'nt* 'w. they wished' *VJ* 111.

1553. (iii) Man. *kδ'm*, *kt'm*, B. *kt'm*, cf. § 269.

(1) *pr kδ'm 'nrr* 'in whichever zodiacal sign' *M* 767 i 5; *qt'm "δyy*, *BSOS* viii 584, *qt'm 'yδyy*, *BBB* p. 68 on 545, 'whoever'; B. *prw kt'('m wy" k "z'yt* 'in whichever place he is born' *SCE* 501. 519; B. *kt'm ZYβn ryz't* 'whichever you like' *VJ* 25<sup>b</sup>; Man. *kδ'('m 'yw[r*, v. § 1318.

1554. (2) *i kδ'm w'xš* 'any questions' *BBB* 611; *'yw qt'm dγnd'ryy* 'to any electus' ib. f 29.

1555. (iv) Adverbs.

(1) B. *'kw. kt'm "z'wn w'tδ'r 'kw 'skw't* 'whichever living being, wherever it be' *VJ* 531.

1556. (2) B. *'kwδ*. *'kwδ . . . 'zβ'k nškw'y* 'wherever you pull out your tongue' *DN* 32.

1557. (3) S. *kwrd*. *kwrd ZY šm'γw ZK γypδ δstw 'wst'yδ rty 'wrd* 'zw . . . *kum'n ZKwh prtry'kh* 'wherever you put your hands, there I shall heal' *T M* 389 a R 16 sq.

1558. (4) B. *kwδprm*. *'kwδprm ZNh 'βc'npdyh 'skw't* 'as long as the world lasts' *P* 2, 91. [cf. H., *BSOAS* xi 716 on 91.] *kwδ prm*

1559. (5) *kδ'c* 'ever', only in the negative. Man. *kδ'c . . . nyy* *T* ii D 139 ii 7. *M* 178 i R 32. V 31, Chr. *qd'c . . . ny* i 21, 15, B. *kδ'c . . . L' VJ* 1115 sq., 'never'.

1560. (v) *āδ-*.

(1) Man. *"δyy*, Chr. *(')dy*, B. *"δ'k*, *(ali)quis*.

(a) *γrβ'k 'ty fryyru'n "δyy* 'wise and soul-loving ones' *M* 135 ii 44 sq.; *pnd fryy šyrxwzyy "δyh* 'relatives, dear ones, and friends' ib. 62 sq.; *'nyw "δyh* 'somebody else' *BBB* 522. *T* ii D 63 c 5; *xyδ "δyy š'r* 'to that one' *M* 117, 4 sq.; Chr. *[xw]ny 'dyy* 'that one' i 61, 16; *'dyy* 78, 11. 13 (Obl.); *wyspw 'dy* 'everybody' i 10, 11 sq.

1561. (b) Negative sentences. *"δyy ny γrβ'ty* 'no one knows' *T* ii T 22, 25; Chr. *ny 'dy* 'nobody' i 73, 12; Chr. *'t przbrt' 't ny γw'dy w'bysq t'γw* 'you are not telling a single parable' i 75, 12 sq.; Chr. *t'w' p'trt' . . . 'dy xšywnyt ny m'tnt* 'none of your fathers was a king' ii 5, 7; B. *"δ'k nwš'k nyst* 'nobody is immortal' *VJ* 226.

1562. (2) Man. *"δ*, Abl. (§ 1255): *cn "δ'h*, v. § 1620.

1563. (3) *"δyt*, Pl. *γrf "δytyy*, Acc., 'many people' *BBB* e 4. 7.

Chr. *γρft* 'dyt' i 29, 8; ] 'dyt q' 'eos qui' i 53, 4; 'yny zprtt' 'dyt' 'these saintly ones' ii 6, 4; zprtt 'dyty Obl., ii 6, 46 sq.; pyrmcyqt zprtt 'dyty Obl., 'earlier saints' ii 6, 19.

1564. (4) Man. 'c, B. 'δcw (not attested in Chr.), '(ali)quid, res'. Cf. Yaghn. *iyāč* 'anything', from i 'one' + \*āč.

(a) *pr vii zng'n* 'c 'in seven sorts of things' M 264 A 4 sq.; B. *cw* 'δcw 'whatever', v. § 1546; *wyspw* 'δcw 'everything' VJ 126. 137; 'nyw 'δcw *γwyz'yδ* 'ask for something else' VJ 177 sq.; 'nyw 'δcw *wyspw* 'everything else' VJ 561; *cγw'yδ* 'δcw *cwt'y γwt'y γw'y* 'from whatever he was eating himself' VJ 955.

1565. (b) Negative sentences. *tw' xw'r* 'c *xw'cn'k nyyst* 'your sister is not infirm in any way' M 760, 16 sq.; B. 'δcw *γw'n'h 'krteh nyst* 'no offence has been done' VJ 392.

1566. (5) B. 'δ'ycw 'something' SCE 162. 201. Secondary formation, made up as a positive to B. *nyδ'ycw*, § 1579. Lentz's explanation (ST ii, s.v. 'yc) is not convincing.

1567. (6) Compounds.

(a) B. 'δprn 'cumque'.

(α) 'kyty *γtw* 'δprn, v. § 1545.

(β) 'cw 'δprn, v. § 1551.

(γ) 'cw *γtw* 'δprn, § 1552.

(δ) Used for the superlative, v. § 1304.

1568-9. (b) With *wysp-*, cf. JRAS, 1942, 99. B. *wysp* 'δcw Nom., 'everything'; Man. *cn wyspn'c* T i D (Par. 42), B. *cnn* (c'wn) *wyspn'c(w)* Abl., 'everything' and 'every', cf. B. *wyspnycw*, § 1576; S. 'δnn *wyspn'δ mrt'xm'k* 'with everybody, anybody' Anc. Lett. iii 2 sq., B. 'δ'wn *wyspn'δ βy'tty'rtt pr'yw* 'with all the Vidhyādharas' Padm. 40, cf. Reichelt, ZII vi 206, who considers -(')δ to represent OIr. *hada*.

1570. (vi) ēδ-, v. BBB p. 68 on 545.

(1) Man. 'yδyy, S. 'yδ'k (only KB, v. H., loc. cit.), '(ali)quis', 'nyw 'yδyy 'someone else', q't'm 'yδyy 'whoever'.

1571. (2) Man. 'yδyt, 'yδyt, Pl. *xyδ* 'yδyt 'these people', v. BBB loc. cit., 'yδyyt s'r 'to some people' T i D; Obl. *γrf* 'yδyyt'h 'many people' BBB 545.

1572. (3) Man. 'yδc, 'yδc, 'yc; Chr. 'yc; B. 'yc, '(ali)quid, res'.

(a) Man. i *w'nw* 'yδc 'such a thing' T ii B V 2; 'δw' 'yδc 'two things' M 372, 30; *pnc* 'yδc '5 things' M 134 ii V 13; *γrf* 'yc 'many things' T i D 20 (Par. 43); 'yδc δβyδ 'some temptation' BBB f 13; *xw wyspw šyru* 'yδc 'every good thing' M 178 i R 27; 'fcmδyyh 'yδc 'mundi res', v. § 1680; 'yδc *mry'rt* 'any pearls', v. § 1018.

1573. (b) Chr. 'yc 'something' i 48, 21; *xyd* 'yc 'id' i 49, 9; *w'nc'nw* 'yc q't, v. § 1595; *sq'tr cn wyspn* 'yc 'more than anything' B 49, 27; *wyspw mntzprty* 'yc 'all sorts of rubbish' ii 4, 33.

1574. (c) Negative sentences. Man. 'yδc *mry'rt nyw swmbt* 'he does not bore any pearls' M 135 i 12 sq.; 'yδc n' ps' 'don't ask anything' M 880, 11; Chr. *symwn* 'yc *ny q't q't'rt* 'Simon could not do anything' ii 4, 3 sq.; B. 'yc *wrcy'w'k L' βyr'nt* 'they do not obtain any appeasement' ST ii 9, 5.

1575. (4) Chr. 'yct, 'yšt (cf. § 260), Pl. of the preceding. *y'nt* 'yšt(y) 'those things' i 30, 6. 76, 6; *m't* 'yct 'such things' ii 6, 42; *pr γrfyšt* 'περὶ πολλά' i 37, 4; &c.

1576. (5) Compound. B. *cnn wyspnycw* 'of every(thing)' VJ 877. 882, cf. *wyspn'c* § 1568.

1577. (vii) nēδ-. Negation + ēδ-. Not attested in Man. or Chr.

(1) nēδe 'nemo'. *nyδ'k Vim* 97; *nyδk Anc. Lett.* ii 8; *rt'y šy nyδ'y L' pyrt* 'and nobody believes him' SCE 455.

1578. (2) nēč 'nihil'. *nyδcw nyst* 'there is nothing' VJ 23<sup>c</sup>. 8<sup>d</sup>.

1579. (3) nēδēč 'nihil, nullum', contamination between nēδe and ēč. *nyδ'yc* 'by no means, in nothing' Vim 50; *nyδ'y ch* adj. Fem., P 2, 141; *nyδ'ycw* . . . *nyst* SCE 397.

1580. Conspectus for the distribution of the derivatives from āδ- and ēδ- in the three dialects.

		Man.		Chr.		B.	
		āδ-	ēδ-	āδ-	ēδ-	āδ-	ēδ-
Masculine	Sing.	'δyy 1560-2	'yδyy 1570	'dy 1560 sq.	..	'δ'k 1561	KB 'yδ'k 1570
	Plur.	'δyt 1563	'yδyt 1571	'dyt 1563	..	..	..
	Neg.	..	..	..	..	..	nyδ'y 1577
	Com.	..	..	..	..	wyspn'δ 1568	..

## Conspectus (continued).

		Man.		Chr.		B.	
		āδ-	ēδ-	āδ-	ēδ-	āδ-	ēδ-
Neuter	Sing.	"c 1564 sq.	'yδc, 'yc 1572 1574	..	'yc 1573	"δcw 1564 sq. 1574 "δ'ycw 1566	"yc (rare) 1574
	Plur.	..	..	..	'yct, 'yšt 1575	..	..
	Neg.	..	..	..	..	nyδcw 1578 nyδ'yc(w) 1579	..
	Com.	wyspn'c 1568	..	..	..	wyspn'c 1568	wyspnycw 1576
Otherwise		..	..	..	..	"δprm 1567	..

1581. Conspectus for pronouns and adverbs having more than one function.

(A. = adverb, C. = conjunction, P. = pronoun, Pa. = particle.)

	Relative	Interrogative	Indefinite	Other
{ ky	P. 1503-6	P. 1521-3	P. 1545	..
{ ky', P.	C. 1507	1524	..	..
{ cw	1508 sq.	P. 1525, 'why?' 1526	} P. 1546-52	Man. C. 'if' <sup>1</sup>
{ cwt(y)	P. 1512 sq.	P. 1527, 'why?' 1528, Pa. 1529 sq.		..
{ kt	P. (ST i), <sup>2</sup> and C. 'that'	..	..	C. 'if' <sup>3</sup>
{ kt'r	P. (B.) 1514	..	..	Man. B., C. 'whether, or, either'
{ kδ/t'm	..	P. 1536 sq.	P. 1553 sq.	'either' VJ 532

<sup>1</sup> Cf. §§ 1693 sq.

<sup>2</sup> qt is used as a relative pronoun (cf. § 1502), instead of qy and cw, throughout ST i, except in the fragment with dialect peculiarities (T ii B 35, cf. above, § 738), p. 81, and the text in Sogdian writing, pp. 86 sq., where qy and ky are found. In the other ST i fragments, qy and cw only appear as interrogatives. Cf. Telegdi, JA, t. 230 (1938), p. 230.

<sup>3</sup> Chr. (i 42, 2. 44, 3. 83, 16. ii 6, 45), Man. (only M 127 V 8), B. (kt L' VJ 1075, kt'n ib. 1447, 'if not'), beside B. kδ.

	Relative	Interrogative	Indefinite	Other
{ (kn'c, A.)	..	1538	..	..
{ ckn'c, Chr.	P. and A. 1518	A. 1539	..	..
{ also cqn'	..	..	..	..
{ kδ'	A. (C.) 'when' 1519	A. 'when?' 1535	..	C. Chr. 'or' <sup>4</sup> , Man. B. 'if'
{ (kδ'c, A.)	..	..	'ever' 1559	..
{ kw, A.	1515 sq.	1531 sq.	1555	..
{ kwrδ, A.	1517	1533 sq.	1557	..
{ (kwrδ'), A.)	..	..	1556. 1558	..

<sup>4</sup> Chr. qd' 'or' = Man. B. kt'r.

## CORRELATIVE PRONOUNS AND ADVERBS

1582. Of the two correlative stems, the demonstrative is w-, the relative c-, but the correspondence is not always between types with the same formative. They are often used independently, when a correlative is not required.

These two stems occur with the same function in Ossetic. H. compares wa-nābārāg 'so unusual' (Miller, Oss. Wtb. iii 1260), wantson 'so easy (āntson)' (ib.), watsāg from ātsāg (loc. cit. 1267), wa- 'such, so' (loc. cit. 1247), with the Sogdian Elative prefix w- (§ 1309) [cf. also calinmæ, ualinmæ (etc.) 'while, then']; Prof. Bailey kindly gave me a reference to tsavār 'what kind': wavār 'such', corresponding to B. c'βr: w'βr. [v. now Bailey, Trans. Phil. Soc. 1945, 7.]

c'-: w'-, for the Elatives ii and iii, v. § 1309.

B. c'γwn'k: w'γwn'k, 1583 sq.

c'f: w'f, 1585-8.

B. c'βr: w'βr, 1589 sq.

B. w'βry, 1591.

c'fryδ: w'fryδ, 1592. [B. w'p/βryt, v. Add. to § 1313.]

B. w'βy, 1593.

w'fyδδ, 1594.

c'nw: w'nw, 1595-1607.

S. c'prm: w'prm, 1608.

cndn: wndn, 1609.

1583. (i) B. c'γwn'k 'qualis': w'γwn'k 'talis'.

(1) c'γwn'k. c'γwn'k šm'r't prywyδ prynh wyn'ncy šwt 'as he thinks it, so it will become visible' Dhy 199. As an interrogative, v. § 1542.

1584. (2) w'γwn'k. n'y' PZY SCE 191, n'k KZNH PZY 200, 'such that'; n'k βr'trt 'such brothers' ib. 36; n'y' z'rtk 'so worried'

VJ 286 sq.; ZKh *prm'nh w'γwnch*, Fem., 'the order is such' VJ 1406; *o'nk s'cl pīβr'wt* 'thus one must remember' T ii S 23, 8.

1585. (ii) c'f 'quot, quantum': w'f 'tot, tantum'.

(1) c'f.

(a) c'f *wγt' wβt'* 'how much should be said' BBB d 2; c'f *šw' o w'fyδδ rīww jmnw o myyδ o m'x o o ty srδδ o kyštškwun* 'as much as has passed, so many minutes, hours, days, months, and years it decreases' M 767 ii 2 sq.; c'f *myδδ xrtiy 'stiy* 'as many days as have passed' M 767 i 1; Chr. c'f *qt qθ'ryšt'* 'whatever (as much as) you have done' i 26, 2; Chr. c'f *žmnw qw prm* 'as long as' i 83, 21; B. c'β *wyγh n'r'kh . . . ny's'y* 'any pomegranate she took' VJ 1020 sq.

(b) Interrogative, v. § 1540.

1586. (c) 'yw c'f 'some, several, more'<sup>1</sup> i c'f *srδyt* 'several years' *Man. Lett.* ii 9; x' *γw [c]f mrtxmyt* 'many people' T ii D 115, 1 sq.; Chr. *γw c'f 'πόσω μάλλον*' i 8, 15. [v. Addenda.]

1587. (d) c'f c'f 'complete, all round'. c'f c'f *qrwš* 'he traced (a line) all round' BBB e 24; B. c'β c'β *tkwš* 'to look round' P 7, 196; 'XRZY *šn pr c'β c'β zyryn'y prδ'ys δš'ry γ'y* 'and a golden wall surrounded them (cf. § 859)' VJ 14<sup>b</sup>; B. c'β c'β *βt' y'wr prw'rt'y* 'he should turn round himself seven times' *Frg* iii 34 sq. [v. Add.]

1588. (2) w'f. w'f *[m]zyx γw'n* 'so many great sins' M 130 ii V 2 sq.; w'f *znng'n βjyk 'kty'h* 'so manifold sins' BBB e 11; w'f *prδβ'n'h* 'such a danger, so many dangers' (?) M 857, 1; Chr. *mn w'f bwž'xq d'rtsq* 'is holding (= making) us so unhappy' ii 1, 45 sq.

1589. (iii) B. c'βr 'quantum' w'βr 'tantum'.

(1) c'βr. c'βr . . . *γwm'r w'β'y* 'however much he consoled' VJ 1114 sq. Interrogative, v. § 1541.

1590. (2) w'βr. w'βr *γw ptwry βwt* 'so great is the reward' SCE 515; w'βr KZNH ZY 'so many that' *Dhy* 213; 'so much' P 2, 76.

1591. (iv) B. w'βry. *γw w'βry δβ'r* 'the so much giving' VJ 817.

1592. (v) c'fryδδ 'quot, ut': w'fryδδ 'tot, ita'. w'fryδδ *swš xrtiy βwt c'fryδδ ptšm'r wβyγh* 'as many degrees have passed, as have been counted', v. H., JRAS, 1942, 239; w'f[ry]δ . . . c'nw M 264 A 25, B. w'βr'yδ . . . c'n'kw P 2, 64 sq., 'ita . . . ut'.

1593. (vi) B. w'βy. ZKh w'βy *'krtyh* VJ 192, ZKw w'βy *pwny'nyh* VJ 1325, 'such great action (virtue)'; w'βy *γwrmh . . . cwZY* 'so much soil as' VJ 1464 sq.

<sup>1</sup>586<sup>1</sup> This is the meaning of the simple *čaf* in Yaghnobi.

1594. (vii) w'fyδδ 'ita, tot'. Chr. w'fyd 'ita' i 81, 11, w'fyd . . . w'nc'n ii 2, 11, w'fyd . . . mydc'nw ii 5, 8 sq. 32, B. w'β'yδ . . . c'n'kw ZY VJ 1474. 1476, w'β'yδ . . . PZY VJ 367, 'ita . . . ut'. For Man. v. § 1585.

1595. (viii) c'nw 'ut': w'nw 'ita'. On the B. spellings cf. § 960 fn. 1. Combined in Chr. w'nc'nw 'just as' i 22, 21, w'nc'nw *'yc qt* 'according to what (lit. such a thing as)' i 29, 11, w'nc'n *frm'd't pwtsty* 'as the Scripture said' ii 1, 33.

1596. (1) c'nw. Cf. Chr. *mydc'nw* 'as' ii 5 passim.

(a) c'nw *frm'yγt* 'as he says' BBB passim.

1597. (b) myδδ c'nw *pr 'xš[p]* 'by day, as well as by night' M 684, 14.

1598. (c) Chr. *wyd'rnt . . . dbry c'nw xwycq* 'they saw the door (as) open' ii 3, 71.

1599. (d) c'nw (*'ty*) 'when', v. BBB s.v.; for B., cf. VJ 215.

1600. (e) B. c'n'kw, often followed by ZY or 'PZY 'since, *puisque*' VJ 468. 526. 26<sup>a</sup>. &c.

1601. (f) Chr. c'nw 'while' ii 1, 31.

1602. (g) 'except, but'. B. *'nyw nyst c'nw PZY* 'there is nothing else but' VJ 948. 957.

(h) 'than', after *frtr*, v. § 1308.

(i) Interrogative, 'how?' (Chr. c'n, c'ny), v. § 1543.

1603. (2) Man. Chr(ST i).B. w'nw, Chr. (ST ii) w'n, B. w'n'w, w'n'kw.

(a) 'so'. w'nw *'škurδ wβt'* 'so heavy' BBB f 28.

(b) B. w'n'w c'nw ZY 'ita ut', v. § 1685.

1604. (c) Introducing direct speech, usually followed by *kt* or *'ty*.

(a) Without any verb for 'to say'. *δst(w) βr' w'nw 'ty 'zw 'tjy ptxw'yn* 'he laid hands on him (saying): I shall kill you' Kaw. C 5 sq.; *pr ptškw'n šw' w'nw qt frm'y* 'went to address him (saying): give order . . . ' BBB e 15 sqq.

1605. (β) With verbs for 'to say' or the like. w'nw *ptyškwyy kt* 'thus he said:' M 135 i 17; w'nw *nyštymškwun 'ty* 'thus we suggest:' M 617 i 25 sq.; w'nw *γrβ' 'ty* 'know thus:' M 591, 21 sq.

1606. (γ) Without *kt* or *'ty*. w'nw w'β i *'ty [fy]* . . . s'št 'thus he said: first you must . . . ' M 655, 11; B. w'n'kw *δr'w ptywšt'w δ'r'm ('wyn) šβ'y γwt'w . . .* 'thus I have heard a rumour: to king Šivi &c.' VJ 488 sq.

<sup>1</sup>603<sup>1</sup> Scribal error for *wβt'*?

1607. (d) Followed by *kt* or *ty*, 'so that', v. §§ 1686. 1690.

1608. (ix) S. *c'prmw* 'as long as': *w'prmw* 'so long', *Anc. Lett.* ii 25. 27.

1609. (x) *cndn* 'quantum': *wndn* 'tantum' (Cf. Chr. *wnm* 'so' *ST* ii, and above, § 1309 fn. 2). B. *cntn* *PZY* *γnt'kk* *β' ZY* *wyn* *wntn* *γwt'w* *γw* *tymy* *pr* *δ'ncy* *šwt* 'how great was the sin, that (= if) the offspring of such a king is being sold' *VJ* 1287 sqq.; *cndn* *w'xšt* 'what important (or: how many) words' *Man. Lett.* ii 7; *wndn* *γnd'k* *šxy'q* ... *ty* 'such a bad crime, that' *BBB* f 16; *wndn* *rtyny* 'so many (or: such) jewels' *M* 372, 21; *wntn* *šy* 'of such memory' *Sogd.* 21, 4 (on the spelling *w-*, v. § 210 fn. 3).

## PREPOSITIONS

- (i) OIr. *hačā*, 1610-21.
- (ii) OIr. *hada*, 1622 sq.
- (iii) *rm*, 1624.
- (iv) OIr. *upari*, 1625-8.
- (v) *kw*, 1629-31.
- (vi) *t'*, 1632.

1610. (i) OIr. *hačā*.

(A) Forms.

(1) *Anc. Lett.* 'c.

(2) Combined with the article (§ 1444), *čon*, cf. Müller, *ST* i 90 fn. 2. *Man. Chr. Anc. Lett. cn*, B. *cnn*,<sup>1</sup> *cnn* (*VJ* 43<sup>e</sup>), *Man. cwn*, B. (and *Man.*, v. § 16 fn.) *c'wn*, from *hačā*+*awana*.

(3) Combined with demonstrative pronouns: *cywyδ*, *cymyδ*, *cywnt*, *cymnt*, *cywyšn*, v. §§ 1404. 1501.

(4) Combined with personal pronouns: *c'm*, § 1343, *c'f*, § 1354.

1611. (5) Combined with other words: *c(y)ndr* 'inside' (*antar*); *c'δr* 'below, under' (*adarr*); *cwpr* 'on top, over' (*upari*); B. *cn'yty*, *cn'yty*, and *cnsty*, *cn'nstty*, *cnnsty*, 'completely', v. § 475; *ckn'(c)* 'unde' (*kana*), v. § 1581; *Man. cn'wxy* *cnm'ny*, v. §§ 11. 337; S. *cs't* 'from all', *cywr wrtn* 'from the sun-chariot', *T* i a (H.).

(6) Enclitic. S. *-mc* § 1347, *-βc* § 1358, *-šc* § 1373, *-mβc* § 1359, *-mnc* 1378; (c) *kn'c*, v. § 1581.

1610<sup>1</sup> The pronoun contained in B. *cnn*, has still demonstrative value, 'from them', French 'en', in B. *rtty* *c'β* *γwt* *rtty* *cnn* *pr'm* *γyδ* *γt* 'please take as many of them as you like' *VJ* 179, *rtty* *cnn* *šm'γw* *γw* *s'yδ* 'take one of them' ib. 24<sup>b</sup> sq., *rtty* *cnn* *γw* *γw* 'one of them' *O*<sup>1</sup> 16. Otherwise *cywyδ*, &c. are used in such cases. The reason for the B. spellings *cnn*, *šnn*, with double n, is unknown.

1612. (B) Employment. Construed with the Ablative.

(1) 'from'.

(a) *BBB* b 44. e 20. &c.

(b) With *s'r* postponed. B. *c'β'kh* *s'r* 'from you' *VJ* 1406, *cnn* *pt'ycw* *s'r* 'obviam, from in front' *VJ* 404. Cf. *VJ* 1010. 1347. 1386. *SCE* 70 sqq. 292 sq. *Ḑly.* 273

(c) *Man. cn* ... *βyq* 'except' *M* 910 ii 8 sq. *T* ii *T* 22, 23 sqq., B. *cnn* ... *βyk* 'out from' *VJ* 132. 146.

(d) With *βyks'r* 'out' postponed, v. *BBB* s.v. For B., cf. *VJ* 1028. 1257.

(e) *Man. cn* *βry'h* *c'δrs'r* 'down from the aether' *T* ii *D* 117, 24 sq. Cf. *VJ* 1027.

1613. (2) 'because of'.

(a) *BBB* 605 sqq. *VJ* 811. 1104. &c.

(b) With *pyδ'r* postponed. Very common.

1614. (3) General definition of time or space. Chr. *cn* *fīm* 'at first, before'; *Man. cn* *γ'zyh* *Kaw.* G 24, Chr. *cn* *γ'z* ii 5, 7, 'at the beginning'; B. *c'wn* *γ'spyh* 'at night' *SCE* 381; *Man. cn* *xwrtxyz* *kyr'n* 'westwards' *Kaw.* G 20 sq.; Chr. *cn* *wny* *s'pł* *qyr'n* 'on his left-hand side' i 26, 5; S. *cn* *γypδ* *ptr*<sup>1</sup> *γw'rnt* 'on his Father's right-hand side' *ST* i 87, 19.

1615. (4) 'on, about', Lat. 'de', in book titles. *cn* *pš'qt* *dywtty* 'on the Nephilim-demons' *Kaw.* p. 68.

1616. (5) Instrumental. Chr. *cn* *γztwq* 'with saliva' ii 1, 25; B. *cnn* *tryh* *krth* *v's*. 'to cut with a sharp knife' *P* 2, 115 sq.; cf. also *SCE* 86.

1617. (6) Partitive. B. *cnn* *wyš* *rup* 'he picked grass' *VJ* 965; *cnn* *myδ'kw* ... *γt* 'to fetch fruit' ib. 971 sq.; cf. also ib. 1037.

1618. (7) With comparatives, v. § 1306. Cf. also B. *c'm'kh* *dyβty* 'secundus a me' *VJ* 1339.

1619. (8) With Infinitives, constituting a kind of supine, v. Benv., *Notes* iii 210. Cf. *BBB* 657-62. f 4. On *cn*+Past Infin.+*k'ry*, v. §§ 932-4.

1620. (9) Agent. *cn* *δ'h* *sfrytyy* *tyh* [*']frytyy* *nyy* *xcyh* 'has not been created by anybody' *M* 264 A 8 sq.; *cn* *c'm* *γr'ndyy* *k'p't* 'should have been irritated by me' *BBB* 644 sq.; *cn* *mn* *qyr'n* ... *prtyy* *k'p't* 'should have been missed by me' *BBB* 745-7.

1621. (10) Otherwise. *frkyr*. *cn* 'to be indifferent to' *BBB* p. 74

1614<sup>1</sup> Ablative, inst. of Genitive, by attraction.

1620<sup>1</sup> [Or: should have become angry over me (H.)]. cf. *Fr. IIa* 101.



bottom; B. *c'wn wyspn'c 'pw 'ps'yδ* 'with everything plentiful' SCE 37 sq.; *cnn y'tk ptzm'nh* 'loathing meat' P 2, 681.

1622. (ii) OIr. *hada* 'with', in § 1623 also 'to'.

(1) With the article (§ 1444), *don*, cf. Müller, *ST* i 90 fn. 2. Man. *δn*, Chr. *dn*, B. *δnn*, *Anc. Lett.* 'δnn; Man. *δwn*, B. (and Man., v. § 16 fn.) *δ'wn* and *δwn* (*T ii* § 23, 16), from *hada*+*awana*. Frequently used with the postposition *pryw* (§ 1627, 7). Cf. §§ 1659 sq.

1623. (2) With demonstrative pronouns. *δywyδ*, *δymyδ*, *δywn*, *δymnt*, *δywsn*, v. § 1501.

(3) Enclitic. B. *-mδ* § 1348; *-šδ* § 1374.

1624. (iii) *rm* 'with', S. only. Often with the postposition *pr'ryw* (§ 1627, 7). Construed with the Abl. in B. *rm wys'* 'with joy' SCE 41 [and in *'ywštry rm 'ywštr' pr'w* P 3, 183 sq.].

1625. (iv) OIr. *upari*. (Ya. cf. *Κωρομου*, HMV)

(1) *pr*, in all dialects. Construed with the Accusative.

(2) Combined with the article, Man. S. *prw*, S. *'prw* (*Kaw. H* 1), followed by the Accusative (v. Waag, *Abh. Kunde d. Morgenl.* xxii, 6, pp. 86 sq.), cf. § 1432.

1626. (3) Examples.

From BBB: *pr β'yt* 'in gardens' 568; *pr . . . z'yy* 'in(side) the earth' 486 sq.; *fšqwxł- pr* 'to press into' 603 sq.; *pr mzyx xnsy* 'in great safety' f 57; *'spt- βw- pr* 'to be accomplished in' 648 sqq.; *pr wyspuw jmnw* 'at all times' 482 sq.; *pr 'mtycy* 'acc. to truth' 613 sq.; *prw rw'n* 'for the sake of the soul' f 14; *xwsndy' jyt- pr* 'to rejoice over' 519-24; *šm'r- pr* 'to plot against' 511-13; *'wnkryy x- pr* 'to sin against' 684-8; *prw . . . nw'rt* 'against the exhortations' b 8 sq.; &c. Cf. also § 1329.

Chr. and B. *p'txš'wn bw- pr* 'to rule over' i 47, 7; *ptxw'y- pr xyr* 'to kill with the sword' ii 2, 7; *w'b- pr* 'to speak about' i 58, 9. 60, 7; *pr 'cw δβr'y k'm* 'for what (at what price) will you give?' VJ 1334; *wyd's- pr* 'to be surprised at' i 63, 9. VJ 1006. 1010; *'z'n- pr* 'to profess' i 10, 12. 13; *rtysn . . . pr cšmt' p'yz'n* 'he recognized them by their eyes' VJ 1264; &c.

1627. (4) Combined with demonstrative pronouns, *prm* (*pr'ym*), *prwyδ*, *prymyδ*, *prwynd*, *prymynd*, *prwyšn*, Chr. *pryw*, v. § 1501.

(5) Combined with personal pronouns, S. *pr'm'k*, § 1342; *pr'f'h*, v. § 1353.

(6) Combined with OIr. *hačā*: *cuwr* 'above, over'.

(7) Combined with *ēw* 'one': *pryw*, postposition, 'together with', v. § 132.

(8) Enclitic. B. *-βypr* § 1382; *-šwpr*, § 1368; *-šypr* § 1371.

1628. (9) With postpositions.

(a) *pr . . . s'r* 'towards'.

(b) *pr . . . cuwr* 'over' M 776, 10. *ST ii*. VJ 1465. 1478. B. *-šn* (*-šw*) *pr cuwr* VJ 18<sup>b</sup>. 345.

(c) Chr. *pr tmy' cyntr* 'in hell' i 9, 6.

1629. (v) *kw*, B. *'kw* and *k'w*, 'to', cf. for the meaning MPers. *ku, ka* *w* = Sogdian *kw*, *Sogd.* 50, 6. Frequently with the postposition *s'r*.

(1) Motion (proper and figurative). *kw myδ'n šwt* 'goes to the waist' M 142 V 2; *'yt kw mrtxmmytt s'r* 'he came to mankind' M 129 R 7 sq.; *kw 'šy'h s'r 'nyy* Impt., 'remember', lit. 'take to your mind', *T i a*; Chr. *qw . . . s' qt-* (or *bw-*) 'zum . . . werden' i 21, 17. 72, 5; B. *pry'w'k k'w* 'love for' SCE 319 sq.; Man. *kw . . . s'r nm'c βr-* 'to pay homage to' BBB c i 9-22; *kw . . . s'r 'frywncyq kwn-* 'to pray to' BBB e 25 sq. Hence *kw* has come to be used as the normal Dative particle.

1630. (2) Locative, only B. *'kw šβk'wš knδh* 'in the town of Š.' VJ 938. 1230, v. also SCE 2.

1631. (3) With *prm* postponed, 'until, up to', local and temporal.

(4) With *cntr* postponed. B. *'kw knδh cntr tys'nt* 'they entered the town' VJ 856 sq.

(5) Combined with demonstrative pronouns, *kywyδ*, *kymyδ*, *kywn*, *kymnt*, v. § 1501.

1632. (vi) *'t'* 'to(wards)'. *Anc. Lett.* *'t*. Man. *'t'* only in addresses, e.g. *T ii T* 31. It is this preposition which is possibly combined with the personal pronouns 1st and 2nd Sg. in *t'm* § 1341, *t'f* § 1352, S. *-mšt* § 1360.

# PART 4

## POINTS OF SYNTAX

### 1633. (i) Gemination of nouns, adjectives, adverbs.

(1) Distributive (cf. also §§ 1330. 1676 sq.). *zurnyy zwr[nyy]* 'from time to time' *Sogd.* p. 19 bottom; *pr zurnyy zurnyy* 'in each period' *BSOS* viii 585; *nym nym* 'fifty fifty' *T ii D* 63 b iii 3; *ryt rytty* 'in many respects', v. *BBB* p. 78 on 642; *B. kws kws* 'everywhere' *VJ* 19<sup>b</sup>; *B. 'kšn 'kšn* 'at every moment' *P* 2, 121; &c.

1634. (2) Intensive. *'ykwn 'ykwn* 'per omnia saecula saeculorum' *M* 178 i V 6; *z]ry z'ry tkwšt* 'looks with ever so great sympathy' *M* 794 b 4; *šyrš'yr* 'very much' *Kaw.* E 5.

1635. (ii) Synonymous hendiadys. Very common. Usually asyndetic. Cf. the hendiadys of Sanskrit+Khotanese words treated by Bailey, *BSOS* x 899 sq.

(1) Substantives. *nwm pšk* 'ritual law'; *ywk fs'k* 'teachings' *M* 891, 15; (*p]w kws kyr'n* 'unlimited' *Sogd.* 27, 6; *r'fyy xwycy myd'nyy* 'in disease and pain' *BBB* 699; *'x's 'wxwnc* 'struggle' *M* 900, 8; *wr' frtry* 'furtherance' *M* 617 ii 26 sq.; *pyšyt' nšmyt* 'limbs' *M* 776, 9; *šn . . . yzyny yr[']m[yy]* 'pryw' 'with treasures' *T ii D* 66 b 29; *'xšyδ 'ty xw'tw* 'lord' *M* 178 ii V 13; &c.

1636. (2) Adjectives (adverbs). *s't wyspw* 'all' *M* 135 i 26 sq.; *'sk'tr fy'tr* 'more' *BBB* 553; *ynd'k βjyk* 'sinful' ib. b 19; *yw'nkrystr jkrystr* 'more sinful' ib. 554 sq.; *xw's'δ p's'δ* 'exhausted' *BBB* 714 sq.; *n' yrβ(yyny)yt [']ty mnd'yrβ'ktē* Plur., 'ignorant' *T ii D* 62, 23.

1637. (3) Verbs. *'zyrm δβ[y]šm* 'I hurt' *BBB* 483; *yrβt[y] 'tyh ptz'nd* 'he knows' *M* 264 A 18.

1638. (iii) Etymological hendiadys. *zyštty ptryštty* 'torn', &c., v. *BBB* p. 56 on 492; *zwrt prwrtty* 'turning to and fro', v. *BBB* p. 69 on 557, also *'wrt nwrtyy*, § 410 fn. 1, cf. § 902; *wzty frwzty* 'flies about' *M* 521 b 29; *'ywšt ptywšt 'kt-* 'to become excited', v. § 929.

1639. (iv) Group inflexion. In a series of (usually asyndetically co-ordinated) words only the last one is inflected. Cf. *BBB* p. 78 on 642. [v. Add. p. 308.]

(1) Nouns in the Oblique. *rw'n tmb'ryh* 'soul and body' *M* 598, 15; *xwr m'xy[y] txyyz* 'the setting of sun and moon' *T ii D* 12, 4;

1638<sup>1</sup> Light-stem ending -ty (inst. of \*frwzt) under the influence of wzty.

*wny βyyštē 'tyyh mrd'spnd 'ty pwtyštyy pyrm s'r* 'in front of the gods, the elements, and the prophets' *T ii D* 117, 5 sqq.; &c.

1640. (2) Nouns in the Plural. *cn 'nxr paryty βyq* 'with the exception of fixed stars and planets' *M* 910 ii 8 sq.; *nxšyrt mryšt* 'pyk δtw z'yxyzyy pr'nyt' 'wild animals, birds, aquatic animals (inst. of δtyšt), creeping animals' *BBB* 511 sqq.; *frnw'xš(yqt)* *T ii D* 66, 2, 14, *frn w'xšyqtyy* *T ii D* 207, 7, corresponding, acc. to H., to MPers. *farrahān ud wāxšān*, v. *BBB* p. 11.

1641. (3) Adjectives. *p'wndyy mzyxt yrt'y'h* 'powerful great mountains' *M* 118 i V 3; *pystyy 'xšnkt' yr'* 'adorned and splendid mountains', v. § 1492; *w'xšyq 'ty tnygyrδt* 'spiritual and material' *M* 802, 10; *βyjttr 'ty stβtrt* 'most wicked (inst. of βyjttr) and cruel' *M* 178 ii V 18 sq.; *yrf qrt'r βyqt nyzβ'nyyt*, v. § 1658.

1642. (4) In compound tenses, the auxiliary may refer to several participles.

The best example is seen in the colophon of the *Intox. Sūtra*, v. § 486 fn. 1. For Man., cf. *wrysty ptmwrttyy 'sty* 'is mixed and dressed with' *BBB* 560; *βjyk ryjyy prδwtty 'tr xwrndy jβ'ty 'ktym* 'I have been inflamed by evil wishes, bitten by voracious fires' *BBB* b 14 sqq.; *nymty βstyt 'skund* 'are taken (inst. of *nymtyt*) and bound', v. § 539 fn. 4.

1643. (5) The occasional failure of \*-aka- stem adjectives to take the Feminine ending, can be regarded as a special case of group inflexion.

(a) The adjective precedes the noun. *'fryty z'yy* 'blessed earth' *M* 583 i V 7. 17; in *BBB* Frg b: *mrzyny 'šm'r* 'ἐνθύμῳς of death' 5 sq., *nywšk'ny x'nyy* 'an auditor's house' 38 sq., *x' y'tny tmb'r* 'fleshly body' 78, *šmnwšk'nyy δ'myy* 'devil's world' 83.

(b) The adjective is postponed, cf. § 1647.

1644. (v) Position of attributive adjectives.

(1) As a rule, a single adjective precedes the noun to which it refers.

Exceptions. *βyyy nwy* 'new-moon' (cf. H., *BBB* s.v. *βynwy*), passim, as a compound *βynwy* *T ii D* 66 a passim, *βynw* Abl. *T ii D* 140, 5; *'z dywδt* 'the demoniac *Āz*' *M* 133, 10; *'wh βy' rwxšn' fry' rw'n* 'oh luminous god, dear soul' *BBB* Frg b passim; *kršn γ[r]β zng'n* 'manifold shapes' ib. 51, possibly modelled on a Parth. original.

1645. (2) More than one adjective qualifying a noun, may

(a) precede it, cf. *n' ny'myh n' 'yt frn nyw 'dy* 'someone else who is untimely and unlucky' *M* 765 k 4 sq.;

1646. (b) follow it, cf. *'ty und' bryybrynyyt' zrywnyyt* 'fruit-bearing green trees', *Sogd.* p. 34 on 24;

1647. (c) take the noun in between, in which case heavy or -aka- stems, if postponed, need not take the Feminine or Plural endings any more than if prefixed (cf. §§ 1240 sq. 1244 sq. 1643), v. *BBB* p. 56 on 492. *plw'c z'y'y zryštyy ptryštyy 'nšystyy pšystyy* 'dry, torn, trampled earth' *BBB* 491 sqq.; *m'wn dyn p'syt 'xš'wn p'syt rwxšn'* 'gl'mzyn p'wnyy z'wrk'yn 'all luminous, armoured, powerful, strong guardians of Church and realm' *T ii D* 207, 3 sqq.

1648. (vi) Appositions. Postponed, if general class words, prefixed, if special designations.

(1) Postponed. *xw m'r'z mrtyy* 'the hireling' *M* 135 i 15 sq.; *'rt'w dynd'r mrtyy* 'electus' *T ii D* 62, 11, cf. *B. dynd'r mrtym'k Dhu* 270; *m'x wr'n kw xwr wr'n s'r pcwjt* 'the moon-chariot will be driven to the sun-chariot' *T ii D* 66 d ii 5 sqq. (cf. § 541, k); *pš'qt dywtyy* § 1615, *pš'q dywtyy M* 129 R 11, 'abortion-demons'; *'wnglywn npyk* 'the Gospel-book' *M* 116 R 13; *cn bwtjšt'xšywnytyh* 'from the Buddha-lords' *T ii D* 66 c 15 sq.; *Man. smyr yr-, B. sm'yr yr-,* 'the Sumeru-mountain', *Kaw. G* 22. *T ii D* 116 passim. *VJ* 1001. *Vim* 34; *B. tnr'k yrw* 'Mount Dandarak' *VJ* 264 sq.; *B. šβk'wš knδh* 'the town of Šivaghosa', § 1630; *Chr. 'wršlm qt* 'the town of Jerusalem' ii 1, 16; *B. šβ'y ywt'w* 'king Šivi' *VJ* passim; &c.

#### 1649. (2) Prefixed.

(a) The apposition is qualified by an adjective or noun. *mzyx 'xšywnyy zrwšygy* 'the great lord Zurvān' *M* 178 i R 1; *mrcync šm'r* "z 'Az, the ἐνθούμνος of death' *T ii B* R 7 sq.; *'δw pš'qt dywt šqlwn 'tyy pysws* 'Š. and P., the two abortion-demons' ib. 8 sqq.; *rw'nyh yr'myy gryw jywndg* 'the Living Soul, the soul's treasure' *BBB* 679 sq.

1650. (b) Nouns of relationship, in the *VJ*. *ZK h wδwh mnr'yh* 'his wife Mandri' 285. 291; *'zw ZY'ym 'yw šβ'y ywt'w z'ik swδ"šn* 'I am king Šivi's son S.' 18<sup>c</sup> sq.; *ZK n wyry pr'mn* 'to the Brahmin, her husband' 1244; *yw 'By šβ'y ywt'w* 353 sq., *'yw ny'k šβ'y ywt'w* 1312 sq., 'king Š., his father (their grandfather)'.

To this group also belongs *'yw wyspyδr'y swδ"šn* 'the crown-prince S.' 349 sq.

#### 1651. (vii) Number of the predicate.

(1) As a rule, the number of the predicate agrees with that of the subject, viz.

(a) both are in the Singular, or

(b) both are in the Plural, or

(c) there is more than one subject, and the predicate is in the Plural, cf. *myyδδ 'ty 'xšp' prw xii xii jmnw pšm'r 'skwndskn* 'day and night are each counted as having twelve hours' *M* 14 R 9 sq.

#### 1652. (2) Construction *ad sensum*.

(a) Subject singular, predicate plural. *c'nw n'f ['](n)wznd* 'when the congregation assembles' *M* 197 V 5 sq.; *B. 'yw 'yškth . . . p'yγwš'nt* 'the harem heard' *VJ* 270 sq. \*

1653. (b) Subject plural, predicate singular. *x'xsryyt . . . kyy 'ty 'mbyrtt w" . . . rwxšn'γδmn* 'springs which fill the paradise' *M* 178 i V 1 sq.

1654. (c) Hendiadys. *γryw n'syy qmbwnyh 'ktyy* 'spoiling and deterioration of the soul took place' *BBB* 546 sq.

1655. (d) Two nouns closely connected, forming a unity in the mind of the speaker. *dynyy frn 'ty whmn'n zyndg'n kyy . . . 'wjyštyy [']štyy* 'the Glory of the Religion and the Living Vahmans, who have descended' *BBB* 534 sqq.; *xrw xwr 't x[w] m'x . . . prwt* 'sun and moon turn' *M* 280 R 10 sq.

1656. (3) If the subject is qualified by a numeral, the predicate is in the Plural or in the Singular, acc. to whether the subject has the Plural ending or not, cf. §§ 1662 sqq.

(a) Plural. *δw'ts 'ndmyyt munw xnd* 'the twelve limbs are the following' *M* 14 V 17 sq.; *iii kp[yš]t wm't('nd)* 'there were three fishes' *M* 127 R 9.

(b) Singular. *ii βynyy 'sty* 'there are two temples' *T ii D* 117, 45; *xw C z'r cr'γ p[tsw]xsty* 'the hundred thousand lamps are lit', v. § 1518.

1657. (4) With 'all' and 'many', the predicate is more often in the Plural, even when the noun is in the Singular.

(a) Plural. *cn wyspw dywtyy ky 'ty . . . βstyt xnd* 'from all the demons who have been fettered', v. H., *JRAS*, 1942, 232 fn. 6; *S. ZK wyspy rw'n ZY prwty s't . . . βrks'tk ynt* 'all souls and Fravashis have been cut off' *JRAS*, 1944, 137 adn. 7; *Chr. m't wynnt wyspw "dy* 'so that everybody should see' ii 4, 9; *Chr. wyspw "dy . . . spxš'znt* 'everybody worshipped' ii 5, 34; cf. also *SCE* 490. 543 (against 542). *Padm* 1. 9. 38. *Man. γ[r]f qrtt dywt kyy 'ty . . . [škw]nd* 'many cunning (v. § 249 fn.) demons, who are . . . ' *T ii D* 139 i 3; *Chr. 'wštnt γrf s'nt* 'many enemies stood' ii 1, 20; *Chr. γrf srd qnt* 'many years have passed' ib. 81.

\*note v 453 'ew lnp'y ynt, men 80 f. ew lnp'y y't  
159 'ewty βm γw'meyk ynt

1658. (b) Singular. *mn'h wyspw pyšyt 'ndmyt . . . dyštyy (x)[cy]y* 'all my limbs have been . . . built' *M* 776, 8 sqq.; *'ty šyy yrf qrt'r* *βjyqt nyzβ'nyyt p'syyt 'styy* 'and many cunning (v. § 249 fn.) sinful passions are his guardians' *M* 133, 18 sqq.; *yrf sdyt wβ* 'it was many years' *M* 767 ii 4; *yrf ywnc . . . xcy (ei) sunt multi colores* *M* 664, 24 sq.

1659. (5) With 'cum'.

(a) Plural. *wyspw 'rk cw xwrmzt'βy dn xypδδ 'jwndt 'krtwδ'rnd* 'all the work which Kh. and his sons did' *M* 110 i R 3 sqq.; *'rty xww xwrmzt'βy dn mrd'spnd . . . 'wxštnd* 'and Kh. with the elements descended' *M* 110 ii R 8 sqq.; *xw 'βtkyšpy xw'w dn 'rd'w'n m't 'y'znd nβyrt* 'the Spiritus Vivens and the Mother of Life began to deliberate' *M* 178 ii R 4 sqq.

1660. (b) Singular (rare). *xw'qr dn z'tyy ('tyh) t'wndyy yznyy yrf[m]y* 'pryw . . . nyjyy 'the merchant left, with his son and huge treasures' *T* ii D 66 b 28 sqq.

1661. (viii) Collective Singular. *wn'r'myy βry xwrtδ'rnd* 'they ate the fruits of the orchard' *T* ii B R 1; *cn wndy' βryy xurt* (Infin.) 'eating the fruits from the trees' ib. 4; *c'nw rw'ndyy n'm [jyy]rty wβ't* 'when the names of the souls are pronounced' *BBB* c 14 sq.; *mry r'y* 'groves and plains' *M* 178 i V 3; *'rtšn jyk' nyyst prywysn tmb'r* 'and they have no defect on their bodies' ib. 28; *'ty βry' šyškyy βrty* 'the air carries drops' *T* ii D 267, 15 sq.

1662. (ix) Nouns after cardinals. Although there appears to be some uncertainty whether the Singular or the Plural should be used, the following tendencies can be observed.

(1) Nouns of time and measure, and such as are often used with numerals, are nearly always in the Singular. Exceptions below, §§ 1667. 1671. *rtww* '10 seconds'; *jmnw* 'hour' *M* 136 R 3 sq. 5. *M* 796 i 27; *myδδ* 'day' *M* 796 i 13 sq.; B. *m'y* 'month' *VJ* 38; *srδ* 'year' *M* 142 R 6; *styr* 'στατήρ' *M* 746 c 7; Chr. *pcm'r* 'pound', *ywdy* 'βάρος', *p'r* 'κόπος'; *fswx* *M* 178 ii R 27. 28, *fs'x* *T* ii D 116, 28, *fns'x* ib. 26. 31, B. *βs'ny* *VJ* 118. 409. 61c, 'parasang'; *pr* ii *wgruw* *M* 778, 12, 'δw' *wkr(w)* *M* 697, 4, B. *prw wywšw . . . wkry SCE* 119 sq., *pr x wkry* *Dhu* 265, 'sort, kind, species'.

1663. (2) Nouns habitually connected with a certain numeral, also prefer the Singular. *pnc δ'rwkync δ'm pnc ptync δ'm* 'the five vegetable creations, the five fleshly c.' *BBB* 498 sq.; *pnc prβyn* 'the five gifts' *BBB* 621; *vii 'frywn vii b'syk* 'seven prayers, seven hymns' *BBB* 684 sq.; *pnc cxš'pδδ* 'the five commandments' *M* 14 V 20; *ctf'r qyr''n* 'directions' *M* 178 ii R 23; *δs sm'nyy* 'skies' ib. 16. 19;

*xii 'nax 'ty vii pxyyh* 'the 12 zodiacal signs and the seven planets' ib. V 21.

1664. Exceptions. *vii pxyyt* *M* 767 ii 12; v. also below, §§ 1668. 1672.

1665. (3) The Plural prevails.

(a) With nouns not so frequently associated with numerals or a given numeral. *Lxxx z'r pjwqt* 'eighty thousand abortions' *T* ii B V 7 sq.; *ii z'tyt* 'sons' *M* 794 c 2; *x' CC dywt* 'the 200 demons' *Kaw.* K 7; *iii kpyšt* 'three fishes', quoted § 1656 a; *iv fryštyt* 'angels' *Kaw.* G hl.; *xiv tmt* 'hells' *M* 128 V 7; *pnc nyzβ'nyy* 'passions' *M* 915, 12; &c.

1666. Exceptions are not uncommon: *pnc 'njmn* 'the five gatherings' *BBB* d 1; *ii βypšyy* 'angels (god-sons)' *M* 178 ii V 30 sq.; *ii βrt* 'brothers' *M* 794 b 6; *xxxii knδ* 'towns' *Kaw.* G 22 sq.; *βrywr plk'r* 'appearances' *T* ii D 139 ii 14; v. also § 1656, b.

1667. (b) In the Oblique.

(a) Against § 1662. *cn yrf β[r]ywr sdytyy mrt's'r* 'since many myriads of years until now' *JRAS* 1944, 144 n. 3; *s(t)* (Abl.) *sdytyt yrt'r cn . . .* 'one hundred years later' *T* ii D 66, 2, 20.

1668. (β) Against § 1663. *xii 'nartyh 'xš'wn* 'the rule of the twelve Anxars' *M* 767 ii 4 sq.; *wyny x sm'nytyy* 'skies' *M* 178 ii R 25 sq.

1669. (γ) Otherwise. *prw iii srdngty nw'rt* 'against the exhortation by the three chairmen' *BBB* b 8 sq.; *cn pnc pwtysty* 'from the five Buddhas' *BBB* d 1; *pnc δβrtyh* 'doors' *BBB* 648.

1670. (δ) Exceptions. *cn pnc prβynyh* *BBB* p. 76 on 621 (in agreement with § 1663).

1671. (c) If beside the numeral there is an adjective or apposition, or a pronoun in the Plural.

(a) Against § 1662, but in agreement with § 1667. *myydcyq xii jmndy* *xii rttw kw xšpncyk xii jmnd* *s'r βjyt skwn* 'the 12 ratus of the 12 hours of the day are added to the 12 hours of the night' *M* 14 R 1 sqq.

1672. (β) Against § 1663. *mys'nd pnc prβynd* 'these five gifts', § 1481.

1673. (γ) Otherwise. *iv mzyx yrt'y*, v. § 1248; 'δw' *rwzšnt'h wrtn[d* 'the two luminous chariots' *M* 684, 15; *vi 'xšywnyt βyyštyy* 'six lordly gods' *T* ii D 66, 2, 2 sq.; 'δw' *pš'qt dywt*, v. § 1649; *iii zwrnycykt pnc bwtyšt* 'the five Buddhas belonging to the three periods' H., *BSOS* viii 586 top.

1674. (8) Exception. 'dryy z'r wftyy kwrδ'k '3000 woven shirts' *M* 137 V 12.

1675. (x) Nouns with distributive numerals. The object counted is usually in the Plural (note in the examples below, the old Plural δβr, cf. § 1185), except, of course, after 'yw 'yw 'each'. Where the Singular occurs, it is in agreement with the two rules given for cardinals, § 1662 sq.

1676. (1) Plural. 'nartyy z[r] z'r s[rδy]t 'the millenia of each zodiacal sign' *M* 767 ii 8 (title); pr wyspw sm'nyy xii xii xw δbrt' ptys'c'nd . . . 'rtms tym 'nyt iw iw δβr' pr ctf'r qyr'n s'r mns'c'nd 'they fixed 12 gates to each sky, and, moreover, towards each of the four directions they placed another four gates' *HR* ii 97, 3 sqq.; 'rtpr xii xii δβrt' ky 'ty wy' sm'nyty 'skwnd . . . pr 'yw 'yw δβrw vi vi pdynd (Pl.) mns'c'nd . . . 'rtty pr 'yw 'yw pdynd (Sg.) qwn'nd xxx xxx w'crnd 'and to each of the twelve gates which are in the skies, they fixed six thresholds, and for each threshold they made thirty bazaars' ib. 97, 12-98, 4.

1677. (2) Singular. z'r z'r srδδ '1000 years each' *M* 767 ii 10; myyδδ 'ty 'xšp' prw xii xii jmnw ptšm'r 'skwndskn, v. § 1651; δn pnc pnc r'tyy pryw 'each with five gifts' *M* 14 V 3 sq.

#### 1678. (xi) Relative clauses.

(1) In Man., ky is sometimes reinforced by xwt'y 'self', to express identity; this is a calque of MPers. 'y xwd, e.g. *Mir. Man.* i 199, 30. kyy 'ty xwt'y 'ycy *BBB* b 77 sq., cw 'ty xwt'yh xcy *M* 135 ii 22, 'which is', kyy xwt'y xcy *M* 771, 3. *M* 796 i 28. *M* 14 V 6; &c.

1679. (2) The relative pronoun usually stands at the beginning of the clause. Sometimes, however, it immediately precedes the verb, like the interrogative pronoun (cf. § 1521, and § 1693 for cw). myš'ndyy ywšytt ky wβ'nd 'those who were their \*spies' (*H.*) *Man. Lett.* ii 12.

1680. (3) ky (or Chr. qī), as a relative particle which is taken up by a personal or demonstrative pronoun, can be used for the Oblique of the relative pronoun (which otherwise is ky', v. § 1508 sq.). xw 'ymbn kyy rw'nd prywyδδ nymtyy βstyt 'skwnd 'the perversion in which the souls are imprisoned and bound' *M* 814 i 7 sqq.; kyy 'tyšyy wyy sk'wyh 'on (towards) whose top' *M* 178 i R 20; kyy 'tyšn xw βryy 'quorum fructus' ib. 31 sq.; kyy 'tyšn 'fcmδdyh 'yyδc pδwfsyynnyy βwt 'quibus (scil. corporibus) aliqua mundi res haereat' *BBB* p. 80 on 664; Chr. spncyrsn qī šy 'xyž't xypθ'wnt 'the manager whom his master raises' i 40, 1 sq.

1681. (4) In the following sentence, an attribute of the noun to

which the relative pronoun refers, is taken into the relative clause, causing the noun to be repeated with the ending it had before: c'wm cywyyδδ yrt'y ky p'škyr'n tmy' βyk p'wndyy mzyxt yrt'yh wm't'nd 'from those mighty and great mountains which were outside the northern hell', lit. 'from those mts, which, outside the n. hell, were mighty and great mts' *M* 118 i V 1 sqq.

1682. (5) Sometimes a demonstrative pronoun to which the relative refers, is left out in the main sentence. 'ms' frm'y 'krtyy ky pyrmstr st'nd 'please pay obedience to those who were before (or those who are foremost, cf. § 780)' *Man. Lett.* ii 17; ky k'syy δwm δ'ryy δrtyc s[p]nyy s'r škrtyy, v. *BBB* p. 102 on f 8.

1683. (6) When hypothetical or concessive, ky is followed by the Subjunctive or Optative. ky k'syy δwm δ'ryy 'he who holds a pig's tail', v. prec. §; wyspw xuryyny ky 'tyšwpr 'yjn nyy β't 'any eater who should not be worthy of it' *BBB* f 77 sq.; kyy kwnyy iii srδ jw't 'who does (it) will live (only) three years' *M* 142 R 6 sq. Cf. also §§ 1687. 1689.

1684. (xii) Optative. Apart from its normal function of expressing a wish, the following may be mentioned.

(1) Exhortative. 'ndwxssyy 'he should strive' *BBB* p. 71 on 567-76. Used for the Imperative in the 2nd Pl., v. § 752 sq.

(2) Durative, v. § 638.

1685. (3) Parabolic, cf. *Sogd.*, 34 fn. 3. qδwttyy . . . wyšpšyyh kyy 'tyšyy . . . cn yrd' 'qwytyy 'skwyh 'as if a prince, on whose neck . . . were hanging . . . ' *T* ii D 62, 4 sqq.; B. wyδβ'γ w'n'w c'nw ZY 'yw mrtym'kw . . . syw'y'y 'the parable is such, as if a man should lift . . . ' *VJ* 1463 sqq.

1686. (4) In consecutive clauses. w'nw 'ty x'n' jyt' wβyy, v. § 884; w'nw 'ty 'xwšndyy 'skwynd 'so that they should be content' *M* 135 ii 49 sq.

(5) In hypothetical clauses, v. § 1696 sq.

1687. (6) Relative-concessive clauses, cf. § 1689. xwnyy mrtzmyy kyy 'ty mwnw w'f zwnng'n βjyk 'ktyh 'ktyy y't 'that man, however many evil deeds should have been committed by him' *BBB* e 9 sqq.

1688. (xiii) Subjunctive. On the employment of the Subjunctive in Chr., v. Telegdi, *JA*, t. 230 (1938), 223 sq.

(1) Relative-indefinite clauses. Examples in §§ 1546. 1549. 1552. 1555. 1558.

1689. (2) Relative-concessive clauses, cf. § 1687. *xwnyy mrtzmyy kyy 'ty yrf ynd'k 'kty' qun't* 'that man, however many evil deeds he should commit' BBB e 2 sq.

1690. (3) Final clauses. *w'nw ktfy . . . nmy'k 'ty ptydy' nyu qun't* 'in order that he should not insult you' M 117, 9 sq.

1691. (4) Temporal clauses. *kδ' myδ kβn 'skw't* 'when the day declines' BBB d 7.

1692. (5) Comparative clauses. B. *prtr m'rw ZKw 'βyz' βr'ym c'n'kw ZY 'wyn 'By' ZKh pwny'nh zrn'kh β't* 'we would rather endure sufferings than that our father's holiness should be in vain' VJ 1328 sq.

(6) Hypothetic clauses, v. § 1694 sq.

(7) Used for the Future. Very common.

1693. (xiv) Hypothetic clauses (Realis; on the Irrealis cf. §§ 815-22).<sup>1</sup>

(1) Indicative. *cw . . . [k'twδ'rm* 'if I have made' BBB 501 sq.; *xw'sδ p's'δ . . . tmb''r cw δ'rmskun* 'if I am keeping my body weary &c.' BBB 688-92 (note the position of *cw*; cf. § 1679 on *ky*).

1694. (2) Subjunctive. Cf. also § 1683.

(a) *cw . . . [l'sm'rtδ'rn* 'if I have thought' BBB b 8-12; *'rtkδ' yδc δβyš'ys't* 'if any harm comes' BBB f 12 sq.; *qδ' . . . yw't'rtty . . . δβr'h* 'si oporteat . . . da' M 135 i 45 sqq.

1695. (b) Without a conjunction. *wjyd w'd cn c'm' yr'ndyy 'k't* 'should the Holy Ghost have been irritated by me', cf. § 1620; *tym ms . . . frkyrnyky' . . . qδ'rmx't* 'again, if I have shown negligence' M 116 V 8-10.

1696. (3) Optative. Cf. also § 1683.

(a) *c'nw 'ty . . . zwr'tyy 'ty . . . pstwyy* 'if he turns away and disclaims' BBB f 7-10.

1697. (b) Without a conjunction, but with an indefinite pronoun. *'yw q't'm δynd'ryy . . . qrmšwln βstyy wβyy* 'should the absolution be refused to any electus' BBB f 29 sqq.

1693<sup>1</sup> The Opt. B. *y'y* is used for the Irrealis in the passages quoted § 771 fn.

## ADDENDA

86. Add B. *kyn'k* < *ἀκινάκης*, Benveniste, *TSP* p. 202<sup>1</sup>.

101. Add *Anc. Lett.* ii 27 *'wβy* < *ubaya-*: *'wβy 'PZY m'sk 'PZY mrkyn'k* 'both (Reichelt's "snow") old and dying' (H.).

120. Beside Chr. *bwž-* we have S. *β'z-* in *β'zkr'm* if this word means 'tax-collector', as suggested by Freiman, *Mugh* p. 154.

Initial *ai-* became *i-* in B. *yyδyn* 'glacier', cf. Addenda to § 1117, and *itkw-* < *\*(h)aituka-*, § 126.

132. Add perhaps Chr. *pcqury*, Obl., 'fear' *Giw.* 226, if read correctly (Hansen's Index has *pšqury* or *pšqyry*). Elsewhere *pckwyr*.

147. Add B. *βδ'yšt k SCE* 341. *Dhu* 285 'loaded' < *\*abi-dršta-*. On cf. *pa.* *darz-* cf. Bailey, *BSOAS* xi 767 sq. *ca. 52*

161. Benveniste, *VJ* p. 90, more attractively derives *'pkš-* from *\*upa-kaša-*.

299. Add Chr. *žwšy*, B. *δr'wšyh* 'sacrifice', < Av. *zaθrā-*, v. *JRAS*, 1946, 183.

315. *fra-* turns up as *f(a)-* also before *δ* in Man. *fδys*, B. *fδ'ys*, *'βδ'ys* 'vision, apparition', cf. *Sogd.* 20 on 22 b. B. *pδ'ys* may belong to S. *pδ'yš-*, § 549. On *fra-* > *f-* before *b* see below, ad § 621. B. *βzyn* perhaps provides a case of *fra-* > *fa-* before *ž*, v. below, ad § 1026.

316. On *fsp* v. now H., *BSOAS* xii 314. Benveniste has connected B. *'βs'wc-* P 2, 226, with Chr. *fswyt-*, v. *TSP* pp. 171 sq. The context, however, strongly suggests that *'βs'wc-* means 'to cut or pierce'. We thus seem to have evidence of a base *\*suk-* 'pierce', of which Pers. *sōzan*, Bal. *sūčīn*, Wx *sic*, Khar. *suč'ina(kirta)* (v. Lüders, *APAW*, 1936, 31), &c., 'needle', may be derivatives.

338. Add reference to B. *(?)yws'nt* and Man. *'xwsndyy*, *JRAS* 1944, 142, 6.

351. *-ām-* also became *āw* in B. *'ny'w* 'hurry' *VJ* 129, < *\*ham-gāma-*, cf. Khot. *hamgām* 'quickly', v. Bailey *BSOAS* x 585<sup>46</sup>.

358. *p'r* 'for, but' has an etymological equivalent in Digor *fal* 'but'.

367. In B. *ptšknpy* 'dripstone' *š* after *pati-* is expected.

466. Another case of *dm* > *dv* can be recognized in B. *nyrdβ'y*, *nyrdβ'k* 'scorpion' < *\*dṛdma-ka-*, cf. Pš *laram*, v. Morgenstierne, *EVP* p. 107. On the interchange of initial *d*: *n* cf. H., *BSOAS* x 949 n. 4. H. points out that Khwār. *δrmcyk* 'scorpion' also belongs here.

526. Benveniste, *VJ* p. 94 ad 40<sup>d</sup>, justly remarks that B. *nyrk-* in *nyrkčšmy* 'aux yeux mâles' ought to be 'une épithète de couleur'. This colour cannot, however, be 'blue' (< \**nīlaka*, as suggested by O. Szemerényi, *JAOS* lxx (1950) 233 sq.). Years ago, when I put the problem to Professor Bailey, he referred me to Lüders, *AO*, 1937, 136, who has shown that the Brahmin in question had yellow eyes. Though we may, accordingly, prefer the reading *zyrk-*, it is not clear from which OIr. form this adjective derives; only \**zaryak-* would satisfactorily account for the presence of both *y* and *k* in the Sogdian word, cf. Av. *zairya(n)k-*.
548. Add Man. *jyyr-* 'to call' and 'to be called' (§ 706).
560. Benveniste, *VJ* p. 93, has made it likely that \**pšty-* here means 'to entrust'. This agrees well with the connexion with the name of the 'Avesta' suggested by Henning, *BSOAS* xi 725.
604. Add B. *sywn-* 'to recite (*sywn'y* Inf., *Dhy* 6, v. Reichelt's note) from *sywnw* 'word, speech'.
621. *švar-* < \**fvar-* < *fra-bara-*, v. *JRAS*, 1946, 181 n. 3. The dissimilation of *f* in *fra-* before a labial spirant has, I think, an illustrious OIr. precedent. Henning suggested *BSOAS* xii 41 n. 1, that MPers. *prystr* = *frest* was a corruption of Av. *xrafstra-*. One notes that if an OIr. (OPers.) form \**frafstra-* existed, it might have become *frest* in MPers.; although Manichean MPers. *frest* may nevertheless be merely dissimilated from the Zoroastrian form, OIr. \**frafstra-* may still happen to have been the original form from which Av. *xrafstra-* was dissimilated. \**frafstra-* can be derived from \**fra-pt-tra-*. Derivation from *pat-*, the verbal stem most widely used to describe the movements of 'daēvic' beings would be well in keeping with the vague meaning of this very ancient term for hostile creatures.
635. -sq in *Giwardis* (only continuous present): 1 Sg. *br'msq* 197, *frm'ymsq* A 28, *γrb'msq* 84, *w'bmsq* 236, *wš'msq* 99, *xwr'msq* 296; 2 Sg. *d'rysq* 263, *šm'rysq* 129, *w'bysq* 197; 3 Sg. \**[br]tsq* 82, *stysq* 245, *w'btq* 83, *žyyrtq* 241. 246.
656. The general rule seems to be that B. has always *an-*, Chr. always *ā-* (except in 'mbrz, § 657), Man. sometimes *an-* and sometimes *ā-*.
- 775 fn. H. now suggests deriving 'ygy < *Anc. Lett.* 'yncy(y), perhaps belonging to 'n- (§ 785), v. *BSOAS* xii 605 n. 2.
818. I am not yet convinced of the existence of a particle *nm'()*y 'certainly, really', as argued by Benveniste *Notes in* 118, ESP

p. 205 on 116, *VJ* p. 96 on 1023. The passage *VJ* 1152 sq., *L' nm'y'y'wšt* offers the greatest objection, since if \**y'wšt* is a finite form it can only mean 'fut tourmenté', and not 'sera tourmenté' as M. Benveniste translates. One therefore suspects that the finite verb is *nm'y*, 2 Sg. Impt., which governs \**y'wšt* as an Infinitive; in the parallel passage *VJ* 1457 sq. the Infinitive is \**pz'rm't*. The required meaning seems to be 'do not have any compunction about troubling my mind'. We are thus faced with a present stem of the same appearance as Man. Chr. *nm'y-* (*nimāy-*) 'to judge', but the meaning differs. It may be that the *VJ* passages have preserved the Pres. stem that belongs to Man. Chr. *nm'ny*, Khot. *nimāna-* 'repentance' (cf. Bailey, *BSOAS* ix 72); the meaning 'to rue, consider with regret' may account for an expression that seems to approach the value of English 'never mind'.

The spelling *nm'y* in *VJ* 1152 assures us that here, and in *VJ* 1457, we have a word ending in *-āi*. The other passages quoted by M. Benveniste have *nm'y*, which may stand for *n()*māi, *n()*mai, *n()*mā, or *n()*mā. In *P* 3, 242. 247 one wonders why, if *mz'yy L' nm'y w'r't* means 'it should not rain really hard', *nm'y* fails to reappear in line 258; also, \**y'zy* in line 241 leads one to expect an Optative in the co-ordinated clause, whilst *w'r't* would have to be Subjunctive; here, therefore, one would prefer taking *nm'y* as 3 Sg. Opt. of *nam-* 'to agree' (with *L'* 'to refuse'), v. H., *BSOAS* xii 607 n. 2, *w'r't* as the Infinitive depending on it: 'if it refuses to rain hard'.

In *P* 6, 116 we again need a finite verb to account for the Infinitive \**krty*; here *nm'y* may be 1 Sg. Opt., correlated to *βrny'yy*: 'thus he believes (*wrnty*, v. H., *BSOAS* xi 735): I will forfeit my life rather than agree (*lit.* rather than that I agree) to commit further evil.'

There remains *nm'y ZY* in the two parallel passages quoted § 818; here, too, there is little to commend translating *nm'y* as an assertive particle, since a word expressing deprecation, apprehension, or regret, is expected. It is conceivable that the Imperative of, or a verbal noun derived from, *nimāy-* 'to rue = to wish that something had never taken place' could be used as an exclamation with deprecatory value 'Heaven forbid that . . . !'

The function of *nmy*, *Dhu* 7, is not clear.

825. Add S. *wys-* 'to be delivered' (*w'c-/B. wyt-* 'to allow, release, send'): *c(ym)'nty L' pr'št wš'ym ZY βy[k]s'r L' wys'ym* 'we shall not be able to escape from it and shall not be released out of it'

- X 1 ii V 15 sqq. On *pr'st*, Chr. *pryšt*-, Pres. *pryž*-. v. H., BSOAS xii 612 n. 5.
861. *Giwargis* shows the expected Fem. ending of the 3 Sg. Intr. Pret. in the light stem *nyžt* 108 (v. JRAS, 1946, 181), and, by analogy, in the heavy stems *yt* 118, and *mpst* 124.
864. The past stem *sat*- of *san*- also occurs, hitherto unrecognized, in Chr. *sty Giw*. 113. 121. Cf. *st'nd* § 780.
866. S. *βst'ym* [ZY . . *pr*] *kyšt'ym* 'we have been bound and imprisoned' X 1 ii V 13 sq.
868. Add *wm'tsδ* quoted § 1241. Cf. *Trans. Phil. Soc.* 1945, 141, n. 2.
875. In H.'s opinion these forms are Optatives (ending *-ayand*) used as Preterites, while *-ynt*, § 872, represents *-ēnd*, contracted form *-ayand*. In reading *-ynt* as *-ind* I assumed a secondary development from *-and* (§ 870) acc. to § 107.
- \**gafta*-, whence Sogd. *γft*- (§ 872), seems to reappear in Khot. *gauda* (which may mean 'over-exerted') in the text published by Bailey, BSOAS xii 616, 30.
- 877 n. 2. Add S. *s'cδ'rt* 'it was necessary', Sogd. 67.
897. In place of the *-yq* Pres. Partc. *Giwargis* uses *-ysq*, *-sq*, *-syq* (cf. JRAS, 1946, 182 on \*175): *qwnysq*, *brysq*, *'xyrsq*, *mynsq*, *mynysq*. Since *qwn*- and *br*- are light, *'xyr*- and *myn*- heavy, it is possible that the suffix was *-as(a)k* with light stems, *-s(a)k* with heavy stems, cf. § 889 fn.
940. Add Chr. *zuby* Nom. and Obl., Man. *zurf* Abl. (*-aka*- stem?), S. *zwb* 'jaws' < Av. *zafar*-, v. JRAS, 1946, 179 sq.
967. *t'ryyh* occurs as adj., 'dark', in *M* 133, 13 (Obl. case).
976. Omit *pryng* which belongs to Av. *sparnha*-, v. Benveniste, TSP p. 211 on 55.
991. *fr'k*, Oss. *ragi*, Wx. *v'rōk* 'to-morrow', < \**frāka*-, v. Morgenstierne, IIFL ii 547.
994. Cf. B. *wn'yk škr*-, P 2, 548, v. H., BSOAS xi 720. Add *'xšpyk*, quoted § 1241.
997. H. points out that the Persian LW *darāvδns* 'courier' almost certainly belongs to *'st'nyk*.
1003. B. *prt'mch*. The translation 'en avant, la tête la première' (also in Benveniste's new edition of *VJ*) presumably arises out of a supposed connexion with *'prtm*- 'first'. Against this connexion stands the persistent spelling without initial aleph, which seems to point to original initial *par*-. The context (*prt'mch* invariably occurring

- with *'wpt*- 'to fall', followed by *ZKw 'šyh βyr*- 'to recover consciousness') shows that *prt'mch* means 'in a swoon, unconscious', hence is from \**pari-tāmah*- + suffix. Cf. Man. *pt'm*, Khot. *pātām-Sogd.* 47, 1 (with comm.), and, for the meaning, Russ. *обморок* 'swoon': *морок* 'darkness, thick mist, swoon, deception'.
1026. The reading *'βjynyh* is not certain. The word may be *'βjwnyh*, belonging to *βj'w*- § 571. As to B. *βzyn*, H. prefers to connect it with (*'*)*jy*- 'to be born', &c., with the same preverb as in Av. *frazainti*-.
1033. *r'yr'y*-. Cf. OHG *rērēn* 'to bleat, roar, shout' < Proto Germanic \**raī-rēi*-, v. Brugmann, *Grdr. d. Vgl. Gramm.*, 2nd ed., ii 3<sup>1</sup> p. 204.
1056. *wyjtry nxywδδ* (2 Pl. Impt.) 'pound w.' *T i* (*Par.* 10), out of context. In an enumeration of hells, *P* 9, 30, occurs B. *wyzt'ry* *'w'zh* 'w.-lake' (Man. *'wzyy*, v. H., Additions to *Sogd.* p. 51). Hence *wyjtry* is a substance, and *wyjtrynyy* means 'consisting of, or containing, *wyjtry*'. M. Benveniste failed to find a Buddhist hell that would give a clue to the meaning of *wyjtry*. In the Khot. *Lehrgedicht E* v 61 the *kšāra-natā* 'alkali-river' hell is mentioned. If *wyjtry* is 'alkali', comparison with Iron *izgard*, Digor *yezgard* 'heart-burn, Sodbrennen' suggests that in Sogdian metathesis from \**wi-žg(a)rtā*- or \**wi-γž(a)rtā*- took place. The preverb of the Ossetic word is not clear; perhaps \**wi-ā*-? The base appears to be *žgar-γžar*-. (Khot. *kšāra-natā*, I learn from Professor Bailey, corresponds to Skt. *kšārodakā nadī*, Pali *khārodakā nadī*, on which v. W. Kirfel, *Die Kosmographie der Inder*, p. 200; Professor Henning points out Tibetan 'Höllenmartern in scharfer Lauge', *hDzañs-bLun oder der Weise und der Thor*, transl. I. J. Schmidt St. Petersburg, 1843, p. 179.)
1060. *γn*- 'power' cannot be connected with Khot. *agane* (as is done by Benveniste, *VJ* p. 96 on 906), since the latter means 'thigh, breast', v. Bailey, BSOAS viii 919.
1076. An Eastern Iranian 'language suffix' *-āu*- is attested by Sogd. *swydy'w*, Khwār. *turkāwīk*, Oss. *avestaganu*, *grekhaganu*, &c. (cf. Bailey, *TPS*, 1945, 9), Khot. *hvatanaū*, *kasparau*, *ciṃgau* (*E* xxiv 2. 5), *tāgūttau* (v. Bailey, BSOAS x 601), all meaning 'in the . . . language'.
1078. Sogd. *r'f* belongs to Khot. *rāhā* 'pain' (Bailey, BSOAS viii 135), which can be derived from \**rāfa*-.
1108. H. has meanwhile found the correct explanation: *st''γ*=Pers. *ستغ* 'having no young'; *sr'k* 'orphan' < \**siraka*-, cf. Church



- Slavonic *sirū* (on the other forms v. H., *JRAS*, 1946, 13). Hence 'solitary and single, childless (and) orphaned'.
1109. Add *Giuvargis ywn pr wy* q 111. 152. 232 'instantly, on the spot'.
1112. H. suggests -se < -sah- or -saha- (Nom. Sg. \*sahi > \*sai > se) 'speaking', coalescing with -aka- stems.
1114. Sogd. *pcxwδ* and Parth. *prxwδn* (which may mean 'scorn') are perhaps connected with Oss. *xudin*. This verb beside 'to laugh' means 'to scoff'; cf. also the derivative *xudinag* 'ridiculous, disgraceful, disgrace'. A meaning distinct from ordinary laughing is seen when the subject is *zærdæ* 'heart'. My Digor friend has *sæ zærdæ dæbæl razudtæy* or *sæ zærditæ dæbæl razudtæncæ* 'they became offended at you'. Hence Dig. *zærdixudt*, Ir. *zærdæxudt* 'offence, offended', e.g. *dæ dzurditæ mæ fæzzærdixudt kodtoncæ* 'your words have offended me'.
1117. Add S. *yzδ'ny* 'tomb' < \*azdāna- 'bone-container' (v. H., *Tales*, 479), B. *yyδyn* 'glacier' < \*aixā-dāna- (Benveniste, *Grammaire*, 201 sq.), cf. Addenda to § 120, and, acc. to H., Man. *m'rδny*, Chr. *m'rδny* 'memoria' < \*maqθra-dāna-. H. points out that in *M* 172 *jwndyh m'rδnyy* is 'the Living Record' = 'Sacred Scripture', and the MPers. equivalent, *m'dy'n ywjdhr*, thus contains *m'dy'n* = Pahl. (Inscr.) *m'tqd'n* [so] = Arm. *matean*, cf. *JRAS*, 1942, 241.
1124. H. would recognize OPers. *kāra*- 'people' in \**ztk'r* (on which v. now also *BSOAS* xii 606 n. 9), and separate *xwδk'r* as connected with the words treated in § 1120.
1126. With \*-ham-kāraka- cf. Oss. -ængard in *razængard* 'prone'.
1136. In \**nwt* 'support' H. has recognized a descendant of the noun from which OPers. *anušiya*- (< \**anutja*-) was derived.
1143. Cf. Oss. *fæzæfsin* 'deputy hostess', *fæson* 'back' (lit. 'what is behind the shoulders'). Oss. *fæs*- is common in *avyayibhāva* compounds, cf. *fæsqus* 'behind the ear', *fæsdwar* 'behind the door', Dig. *fæs(a)ræftæ* 'afternoon', &c.
1193. Cf. also *xw[c]* βw[δ], H., *BSOAS* xii 318, end.
1285. Add S. *yr'ntr* 'heavier' *Tales* 481, 35, *r'rtr* 'darker' (cf. § 967) *ibid.*, and *rw'ntr* 'stronger' *ibid.* 39. For the meaning of *pryk(rt)*, originally Past Partc. of *pryc*- 'to leave', H. compares Pers. *mānda* '(1) left; (2) fatigued, worn out'.
1286. Add the light stem S. *zwyttry* 'most severe', and the heavy S. *rytr* 'worst', *Tales* 481, 49.

1288. Add S. *ryncwksr* 'lighter' and *trykysr* 'bitterer' *Tales* 481, 36 sq.
1294. B. *šy'tr* also in Rosenberg, *Fragm.* ii (*Izv.* 1927, 1380), 11; *šy'tr* twice in the unpubl. B. fragment 10. 119. Acc. to H., extension of OIr. *srayah*-.
1295. O. Szemerényi's suggestion that *wštm'x* contains *wahišta*- + -tama-, the superlative suffix, rather than the Acc. *wahištam*, is attractive, v. his paper on *Sogdicisms in the Avesta*, apud F. Alt-heim, *Aus Spätantike und Christentum* (1951), p. 164. The remainder of that paper, however, must be rejected as extravagant.
1313. Benveniste, *VJ* p. 121<sup>a</sup>, is probably right in translating *w'p/βryt* by 'tel, si grand', and connecting it with B. *w'βr*.
1316. H. points out B. *wywšw-nw* '6' *P* 8, 45, cf. § 1322.
1375. *m'znc* should mean 'we from him or them', -*mnc* (§ 1378) 'by me from him or them', v. H., *BSOAS* xii 605 n. 3.
1405. Acc. to H. *xw* in *xii xii xw δβrt* is perhaps a mistake for *kw* = distributive suffix. Cf. the distributive -*ky*, *TPS* 1948, 63 sqq.
1466. 1501. Add S. *my* (*Tales* 476, 20), \**my* (H., *BSOAS* xi 736), Loc. Sg. Masc. Fem., and *Anc. Lett. my*, Nom. Pl. Masc. < *imai* (H., *BSOAS* xii 606 n. 3).
- S. *cw y' δ'my* 'what in this world' *Tales* 481, 49, is isolated. Haplography of *cw wy*?
1586. \**yw c'f*, cf. Pš *yau co* 'several', Lorimer, *Syntax*, § 85. Pš *co* is both interrogative, 'how many?' (cf. *pa co* 'at what (price)?'), and indefinite, 'some'. In the former function it agrees with Sogd. *c'f* (§ 1540), in the latter with Yaghn. *čāf*. Pš *co* should perhaps be derived from an earlier \**čāf*, as to 'heat' from \**tāf* (cf. Pers. *tāb* < \**tāpa*-, beside *taf* < *tafnu*-).
1587. *c'f c'f* may have to be separated from the pronoun *c'f* and connected with B. *prc'βt* 'surrounding' *Dhy* 288, 'enceinte' *SCE* 222.
- TPS* 1945, p. 146, 7. Ir. \**wazana*- is found also in Khot. *bahoysana*- 'bazaar', acc. to Morgenstierne < \**vahā-vazana*-, v. Konow, *NTS* xi 67.
- P. 146 n. Beside *baravira*- Khot. has *barbira*- *JSt.* 8 r 2. OIr. \**barapuθra*- suffered reduction in Proto-Khot. as in Sogdian (cf. above, § 164), becoming \**barpuθra*-, from which *barbira*-. OIr. \**baratpuθra*- had -at- treated like the preverb *pat(i)*- before consonants (Khot. *pa*-); the resulting \**barapuθra*-, which no longer suffered

# ADDENDA

reduction, yielded Khot. *baravira*-. Sogd. *βrpšh* can be derived from either *bara*- or *barat*-.

P. 147. Inverted *bahuvrihis* occur also in Ossetic and Pašto. For Ossetic (and 'Scythian') see V. Abayev's important study on the Scythian language in *Осетинский язык и фольклор*, i (Moscow-Leningrad, 1949) 231 sqq., from which may be quoted *astæu-naræg* (beside *naræg-astæu*) 'having a narrow waist', *ūcæng-mard* 'withered', *lit.* 'limb-dead', and *Δάναπρις* 'having deep waters' (= Oss. *don + arf*); a list of Ossetic inverted *bahuvrihis* is also found in Abayev's *Русско-осетинский словарь* (Moscow, 1950), pp. 612 sq.; cf. also *nom-rimæxst* (from my Digor friend) 'anonymous', *lit.* 'whose name is concealed', for which Abayev, *op. cit.* s.v. *аноним* has Iron *nom-susæg* 'whose name is secret'.

For Pašto cf. *plār-marai*, *zoe-marai* 'whose father (son) is dead', *las-prekarai* 'whose hand is cut off', *starg-wažai* 'with hungry eyes', v. Darmesteter, *Chants populaires*, Cxlvi, Trumpp, *Grammar*, 55.

P. 147. The etymological identification of B. 'škwch (also P 6, 88) and Khot. *škūta* would permit assigning the meaning 'gullet' to the Khot. word in the passages quoted by Bailey, *BSOAS* x 589<sup>12</sup> (cf. the second passage in S. Konow, *A Medical Text in Khotanese*, 36<sup>27</sup> = Bailey, *Khotanese Texts* i 159, 73 v l). The OIr. form may have been \**skūti*-.

P. 148. The order of words in the calendar terms *βγnwuy*, *βγγy nwy* (and *m'x nwy* 'New Moon', v. H., *JRAS*, 1945, 153) is peculiar to the names of a number of OIr. deified entities, some of which have become calendar names: cf. Sogd. 'rtyxw, 'rtyw < \**Ṛti-wahwi*-, 'rtxwšt < \**Ṛta-wahišta*-, 'pwx < *āpō vamuhiš*, *mnspond* < *mābrahe spāntahe*, *xšywr* < \**xšaθra-warya*-, Khot. *ysama-ššandā* 'earth' ~ \**Zama-spantā*- (cf. Bailey, *BSOAS* vii 294), Aram. *mtrwhšt* = \**Miθra-wahišta*-, Av. *vahvī dāityā* (in Christensen's interpretation of 'la *Vahvī* qui a rapport à la loi religieuse', v. *Le premier chapitre du Vendidad*, 25. 71 sq.). Certain names in the Ossetic saga belong to the same type, cf. *Agundæ-Ræsuhd*, *Boræ-Færnuq*, *Nikkola-Xuarz*, *Xur-zærin*, *Ært-xuron*, *Æfsurh* (< \**aspa-ugra*- acc. to Abayev, *Ос. я. и ф.* i, 233).

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"β'yr- 185. 540.	"γwst- 601. 931.
"βcr 1531.	"γγδ- 653. 717.
"βr- 540. 603. 634. 653. 727. 730.	"j'n- 890.
846 <sup>2</sup> . 919.	"jt- 27. 570. 862.
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"βrxsy 5.	"jy- 124. 182. 570. 653. 711. 1085.
"βrxsymyne 1103.	A 1026.
"bwx 42. 237. 305.	"jyt- 27. 570. 860.
"c 288. 1580. 1581.	"k'β'k 146.
"δ'ycw 1566.	"k'cy p. 142, 1.
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# ADDITIONAL NOTES

96. *twty* gives the Sogdian reading of the ideogram 'PZY in S. texts, 'P- standing for *t* < *uta* and -ZY for 'ty, in compounds -*uty*. For the coalescence of OIr. *uta* and *uti* in Sogd. 'ty (v. § 135 above), which helps to explain the use of a derivative of *uti* as a conjunction in Sogdian, one may compare the Pahl. translation of Av. *uta* by *ēlōn*, v. Bartholomae, *Zum. altiran. Wb.*, 147. H. H. Schaefer, *ZDMG* 1942, 16 sqq., rightly sought behind (P)ZY a Sogdian element additional to Man. 'ty 'and' < *uta*. This element, however, is not (a) *t* < \**yat*, as Schaefer assumed, for on the one hand Man. 't regularly stands for 'and', and therefore represents OIr. *uta*, on the other hand the Man. equivalent of B. *w'n'kw* . . . (P)ZY in the sense of 'so that' is *w'nw* 'ty, cf. *VJ* 742.1244 with § 1686 above; 'ty cannot, of course, be reconciled with OIr. \**yat*. That intrusion of *r* should have taken place after a short vowel in 'rty, as Schaefer suggests, is unlikely, especially in view of the common B. *rty*. S. Konow's connexion of ('rty with Khot. *haḍe* (*Saka Studies* 138) deserves consideration. Note Schaefer's explanation, l.c. 16, of Chr. *m't* (above, § 397 n.) and *p't* from \**m'd-t*, *p'r-t*.

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421. The sentence quoted p. 247, bottom, continues: *cywyð pyð'r ZK Bgyðth ZKw wγ'm'kw z'wr MN m'γw 's'ntk'm* 'because the gods will take from us the strength to \*go about'. Hence *wγ'm'n'fc* 'guest' < \**wi-gāma*- 'traveller', as Oss. *ūazæg*, which H. W. Bailey derives from \**wi-wāza(ka)*-? The meaning of *wγ'm* Sogd. 60, 14, and *wγ[']m* *Anc. Lett.* iii. 7, is too uncertain to be taken into consideration.
900. The simplex of *wryz-* 'to drop' (on which v. H., *BSOAS* xii 309) is attested in B. *ryz-* V/J 1373.
- 960 n. 1. The B. spellings *w'n'kw*, *mwn'kw*, *w'n'kw*, *c'n'kw*, are more likely to be genuinely historical, reflecting a period in which both *-naku* < *-nakam* and *-nu* < *-nam* were used as pronominal neuter suffixes. When *-naku* became *-ne* (which perhaps survived in Chr. *c'ny*) it was generally discarded in favour of the *-nu* forms, which were better suited to contrast the (originally) neuter *ōnu*, *munu* with the masc. *xōne*, *yune* and the fem. *xāna*, *wāna*, *yāna*.
1639. Group inflexion of nouns and adjectives is common also in Ossetic (cf. Abayev, *Русско-осетинский словарь*, p. 620, and Bouda, *Caucasica* xi 66 sq.), and is occasionally found in Khotanese; it plays a prominent part in Tokharian syntax, cf. Schulze, Sieg and Siegling, *Tocharische Grammatik*, 205 sqq.